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The Longwood Library*

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THE Longwood Library is new—so new in fact that I have been hesitant to speak about it publicly until more has been accomplished and its policies have become more firmly fixed.[1] It has still to become widely known. And yet, notwithstanding its newness, it illustrates a fine tradition which reaches far back in the academic annals of our country. It bears witness to one more great act of generosity in support of learning by a private citizen—the late Pierre S. du Pont. The roll of American benefactors in this particular category is a distinguished one which extends over more than three centuries. Steadily the number of their benefactions has grown, and with this growth an ever-increasing range of resources and opportunities has been spread before us. The improving quality and widening scope of historical research are among the more striking results of the rise of great reference libraries which private philanthropy has made possible and which now reach from New England to the Pacific Coast. That the Longwood Library may in years to come

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take its appropriate place among these valued institutions is our confident hope.

On the first of January, 1950, the spacious greenhouses on the Longwood estate of Pierre S. du Pont, near Kennett Square, were the scene of a remarkable celebration. More than 600 members of the du Pont family, many of whom had come great distances, sat down at table together to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the landing of their forebears as refugees upon our shores on January 1, 1800. The immigrants, more than a dozen of them, had come as a close-knit family unit under the leadership of their senior member, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours. Since then, notwithstanding growing numbers and a wide diversity and ramification of interests, there has persisted among their descendants a strong, one might almost say a clannish, family sentiment. It is possible that this sentiment has made them more record-conscious than many of their contemporaries. In any case they have been surprisingly successful in the preservation of their books, manuscripts, and other memorabilia. Of course, I do not mean to imply that all, or most, of the du Ponts for more than 150 years have been collectors, or have been "archive-minded"; but it is sober truth that in every generation there have been enough members of the family who were of that sort, and who have exercised enough influence, to bring it about that, both with respect to the family records and the records of the Du Pont Company, an extraordinary work of preservation has been achieved.

It is in the family aspects of the Longwood Library that I believe the members of this Society will have the greatest interest, and it is to these aspects that I propose principally to devote my attention in this paper. Such emphasis would perhaps hardly be justified were it not for the fact that a good number of the members of the family, as well as the Du Pont Company, have played important parts in our national history. Though the company emphasis has always been on the manufacture of explosives and

other chemicals for peace-time industrial uses, its great capacity, organization, and experience have repeatedly been of the utmost importance for our national security. Several members of the family have made distinguished records in the armed forces of our country; two have served in the United States Senate; and several have been active in the political life of Delaware.

However, the *fons et origo* of the family distinction lies still farther back with Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, the celebrated economist and statesman who had sympathetically observed from France the birth of our country. Today his books and papers form the nucleus of our Longwood collection. As the son of a Parisian watchmaker, his background was unexceptional. His rise to a sustained position of some influence in the tempestuous French scene during the later decades of the 18th century was dramatic. But, which is not surprising, it was the result both of superior intelligence and immense ambition. First noticed by the economist, Quesnay, he was introduced in 1762 to the group to which he himself later gave the name of Physiocrats. This was the beginning of a many-sided career in public life which covered more than fifty years, touched two continents, and culminated in his position as Counsellor of State and Secretary to the *Gouvernement Provisoire* at the time of the Restoration. During that half century it is safe to say that du Pont de Nemours had relations with every leading French statesman. His work was in some way connected with his government except for isolated periods during which he devoted himself primarily to writing. At the same time, however, he actively pursued interests in such divergent fields as natural science, philosophy, manufacturing methods, agriculture, and metaphysics. His books and papers at Longwood formidably attest his stature as a public figure.

Du Pont de Nemours began collecting a library about 1760. We have an inventory of 1784 which lists some 200 titles in approximately 600 volumes, and there are later lists which indicate

that the collection had grown to more than 1,600 volumes during his lifetime. He had two sons, Victor Marie and Eleuthère Irénée; both had important careers in this country. The former had served in the diplomatic corps in the United States before 1800. The latter is, of course, ever-memorable as the founder, in 1802, of the powder mills on Brandywine Creek just above Wilmington which have since grown into the vast chemical firm of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company. Both sons were cultivated men who continued many of their father's intellectual interests. They preserved and cherished his books; and they made considerable acquisitions of their own. Du Pont *père* and his son Irénée were members of the American Philosophical Society, and surviving letters reveal their use of European connections to assist the Society in its acquisition of books and periodicals from France. The two sons resided in homes, called Eleutherian Mills and Louviers, on opposite sides of the Brandywine, houses which are still standing and occupied by du Pont descendants. Both these houses contained libraries, and while our information is fragmentary, something is known about the descent of these collections to later times.

Irénée du Pont had seven children. Four of them are considered in this paper: Alfred Victor and Henry, his first two sons, and Eleuthera and Sophie, the youngest of his four daughters. In this second generation the persons of catholic taste who were perhaps mainly responsible for carrying on the intellectual and library tradition were Alfred Victor and his cultivated wife, Margaretta Lammot du Pont. While much of the ancestral library remained at Eleutherian Mills, this couple were established in another house[2] specially built for them near the powder yard. Here they gathered a considerable library which ranged over a wide variety of subjects—notably travel, history, religion, poetry, science, and technology—and was drawn from almost every century of printing. An inventory made after Alfred Victor's

[2] This was the house called Nemours.

death in 1856 reveals that it had by then grown to 4,000 volumes, on which a valuation of $4,000 was set. The widow, Margaretta, lived on in the home until 1865, when she moved to another house in the neighborhood called Goodstay, in order to make way for her second son and his wife, Lammot and Mary (Belin) du Pont; and she continued to buy books.

Meanwhile Lammot and Mary du Pont (these, by the way, are the parents of the late P. S. du Pont), may be presumed to have gone on buying books after his mother's departure for Goodstay. In 1881 they moved to Philadelphia. Some ten years later, the husband having been killed in an explosion at the Repauno Chemical plant in 1884, the widow moved her family back to Wilmington, where she resided until her death in 1913. The collection which she had gathered in the Wilmington house, called Saint Amour, was considerable.

At Eleutherian Mills, the house which Irénée du Pont had erected on the Brandywine in 1802, his second son, Henry—commonly known as General Henry—continued to live until his death in 1889. The house was temporarily converted into a club for workmen, and it must have been then, if not earlier, that many of the books from this earliest family library were transferred to nearby Winterthur, then the home of General Henry's son, Col. Henry A. du Pont. Col. Henry was an extraordinary figure. Having retired in 1875 from a successful career in the army, he played a very active part in the affairs of the company and in other business ventures until the end of the century, then he turned to politics and became for two terms a member of the United States Senate. Yet with all this he found time for a life of scholarship and letters. He preserved and cherished the library which he had received, and he made many additions to it. He wrote reminiscences of his experiences in the Civil War.[3] But above all, he devoted himself to the history of his family. As

[3] *The Campaign of 1864 in the Valley of Virginia and the Expedition to Lynchburg* (New York, 1925).

early as 1856 (aged 18 years) he was engaged in archival research in the Delaware-New Jersey-Pennsylvania area. Some twenty years later he was energetically probing five centuries of French sources in provincial as well as Parisian archives. Genealogical and other research notes are pencilled busily even on his U. S. Senate papers. One is strongly tempted to infer that heavy military, political, and business demands on his time robbed us of an outstanding academic figure, for genealogical research as refined as his indisputably requires the highest degree of intellectual versatility and discipline. From the Colonel's pen we have such excellent works as *The Early Generations of the du Pont and Allied Families* (1923) and *Rear-Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont, a Biography* (1926), and we know that he had others in contemplation, though he did not bring them to completion.

Victor du Pont and his literary wife, Gabrielle-Joséphine de la Fite de Pelleport, continued to live at Louviers, across the creek, until their respective deaths in 1827 and 1837. Their library must have been divided among their children, but a considerable portion of it surely remained with their second son, Samuel Francis (the Admiral, we commonly call him) who continued to reside there throughout his life. Samuel Francis married his cousin, Sophie, the youngest daughter of Irénée du Pont. She outlived him by many years and continued to reside at Louviers until her death in 1888. She was deeply interested in family history, worked closely with Col. Henry, and made the sound judgment that he above all others in his generation was qualified to be the family historian. Upon her death she bequeathed her books and papers to him. Thus in 1888 the rich materials which had accumulated at Louviers passed in a block to Winterthur. It was with good reason that Col. Henry could write to Pierre S. du Pont in 1923, "I probably possess the most complete collection in existence of papers, books, and documents relating to du Pont de Nemours . . ."

Colonel Henry's son, Henry Francis, who has achieved na-

tional distinction as a student of early American craftsmanship and the creator of the Winterthur Museum, found himself too much pre-occupied with other matters wholly to share his father's keen interest in the family library and history. The mantle of Col. Henry and of the Admiral's widow fell not on him but on the grandson of Alfred Victor and Margaretta, namely Pierre S. du Pont, the creator of Longwood Library. The collecting and library activity of P. S. du Pont appears to date from 1913 when he was building important additions to the Longwood Mansion House, in which he included a beautiful library room. His first important acquisition seems to have come from the library of his deceased mother in the Wilmington house called Saint Amour. The list of "Books taken from 'Saint Amour' in the summer of 1913, by Pierre S. du Pont and now in his library at 'Longwood,' Pennsylvania," constitutes a catalogue of about 350 items. His next considerable acquisition came from Goodstay, after the death in 1914 of his unmarried aunt, Emma Paulina, who had continued to live there after the death of her mother, Margaretta du Pont, in 1898. Though a letter was sent out to the relatives indicating a disposition to let the Goodstay library be distributed among them, Mr. du Pont was permitted to purchase virtually the whole collection. It was his largest single acquisition, about 2,200 titles, and fortunately we have a manageable inventory or catalogue of it, which in most cases gives publication dates. This was essentially the library of his grandparents, Alfred Victor and Margaretta du Pont, with acquisitions made by the latter after the husband's death, together with other additions made by their daughter Emma Paulina, and perhaps by other members of the family. Placed on the shelves beside the Saint Amour library of his mother, it must have gone far towards filling the new library room which he had just erected.

The third large addition to the Longwood Library was the great Winterthur collection which had been assembled by Col. Henry A. du Pont and with which the Colonel's son, Henry

Francis, was willing to part. There appear to have been at least five transfers of this material between the summer of 1949 and the summer of 1954. Taken together, they had the effect of completing the Longwood Library as a family collection to a remarkable degree.

And yet this by no means represents the whole book collection of the Longwood Library. As nearly as can be estimated, the titles which came from Saint Amour and Goodstay amounted to about 5,700 volumes; the transfers from Winterthur to approximately 3,300 volumes. To these must now be added about 6,200 which were acquired by P. S. du Pont, mainly by purchase and as an expression of his own personal interests during his lifetime.

Space is lacking to speak in any detail about Mr. du Pont as the collector of these books, though there is in the collection and in his correspondence files material for a considerable account of his activity. Suffice it to say that he was no bibliophile in the conventional meaning of that term. Though he acquired a good many early and rare books at one time or another, and though he occasionally bought beautiful or unusual bindings, condition and the fine points of state and issue meant nothing to him. From association copies he was frightened away early in his career. Broadly speaking, he purchased, or otherwise acquired throughout his life, both new and old books which were related to his major interests—business and finance, horticulture, the repeal of the 18th Amendment to our Constitution, economics and government, history, especially local history, the history of France in the 18th century, and reports of state agencies reflecting his tenures of office in the state of Delaware. Yet there are no great stores of books on any of these subjects. He was naturally in touch with a good many antiquarian booksellers, and I might quote his response to one of them who endeavored to interest him in a collection "known to possess many of the rarest items . . . the four Shakespeare folios . . . [in] perfect copies . . . In Americana . . . excelled only by the noted Church collection . . . extremely rich

in 18th and 19th century books . . ." To this blurb Mr. du Pont made the gentle but devastating reply: "I thank you for your letter . . . but as I am not collecting books, it will be impossible to act favorably upon your offer."

Nevertheless, P. S. du Pont did become a collector of greater or less importance with respect to certain subjects, notably du Pont de Nemours and works printed by the Du Pont Press, Antoine Lavoisier (who taught the art of powder-making to Irénée du Pont), Bayard Taylor, local history, works relating to gunpowder, horticultural books, and French genealogical works. Among these by far his most important interest was in his great ancestor, du Pont de Nemours.

The du Pont de Nemours collection is undoubtedly our finest. We have du Pont's own copies of some of his books and pamphlets and of the works of such friends of his as Mirabeau, Quesnay, and Turgot—all handed down through four generations and received at Longwood from Winterthur. In addition we have the large collection of "du Pontiana" made by P. S. du Pont since 1913. There are some 350 volumes of books and periodicals written by, or with contributions by du Pont de Nemours, or with which he had an editorial connection. There are over 400 pamphlets written by du Pont de Nemours, about 250 more that relate to him or to his activities, and approximately 100 books which relate directly to him. In addition the collection includes about 100 books and pamphlets published by the Du Pont Press. There is, of course, much duplication. We have a dozen copies of the third edition of his *Philosophie de l'Univers*; and of a few of his pamphlets we have as many as eight, ten, or even eleven copies. In part this results from the fact that several copies have been handed down from the author, in part it results from the odd book-buying practices of P. S. du Pont. In spite of this duplication, our collection is remarkably near to being complete. It is, I believe I can say without fear of contradiction, the most nearly complete outside of France. In number of pieces we doubtless

outrank the Bibliothèque Nationale; and, while they have some titles which we do not possess, we have others not to be found there.

Though I have dwelt at some length upon the books in the Longwood Library, it is the undoubted fact that the Longwood manuscripts are of far greater historical importance. Once more I must emphasize that family solidarity and the deep respect which each succeeding generation has felt for its predecessor, and more particularly the high regard which every succeeding generation has felt for the founder of the family distinction, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, have been highly important factors in the preservation of these family records.

To begin with, du Pont de Nemours himself, as his career unfolded, had a strong sense of its importance and its interest for future generations. He accordingly disciplined himself, particularly under the criticism of Turgot, whom he revered, to keep his letters and papers in some degree of order and to provide them with labels. Many of his letters with their original wrappers carefully labeled, are still in the Longwood Library. And at the close of his life when he was separated from his wife by the Atlantic, we have a remarkable exchange of letters between them from which I may quote briefly: "What would be the use of preparing an edition of my works," he says, "which could not be printed . . . [in France] and which I would have to bring here? I have already told you that in order to move my manuscripts they will have to be bound or stitched in cardboard and placed in a box with a larger amount of printed matter . . ." To this Madame du Pont replied months later: "I have put almost all the manuscripts in order for binding." Thirty years later, in 1847, Maurice de Pusy, Madame du Pont's grandson, delivered to Eleuthera du Pont Smith, one of the daughters of Irénée du Pont, while she was in Paris with her husband, a trunkful of her grandfather's papers. This is the first known instance of any of the du Pont de Nemours papers which were left in France after

his death being joined with those left to his sons in America.

Notable among the du Pont de Nemours manuscripts intact at Longwood are his *Philosophie de l'Univers,* written about 1790 and dedicated to his friends M. and Mme. Lavoisier, and a companion piece: the printed third edition, in which are found in the author's own hand changes and additions for a fourth edition, as yet unpublished, of that same work. I might also mention our manuscript of a treatise by du Pont on "National Education in the United States," which he prepared in 1800 at the request of Thomas Jefferson. There are also numerous manuscripts at Longwood of the essays, mainly on natural science, which he prepared for the Institut National, of his work on indirect taxation, and of such miscellaneous later pieces as articles on duelling in Virginia, and on the advisability of a bureau of vital statistics in the United States.

At the time of the death of du Pont de Nemours both his sons were so busily engaged in their own business activities that they must have had little time to give to a review of their father's papers. It is to be presumed that these were left for the most part intact at Eleutherian Mills, even until after the death of Irénée du Pont in 1834, though there is evidence that some of them got interspersed with the records in the company office which was only a few yards away.

The du Pont de Nemours papers are but the nucleus of the Longwood collection. To them were gradually added large later accumulations, first of all the papers of that remarkably successful man of business, his younger son, Irénée du Pont, the founder of the powder mills. Of these papers eleven volumes have already been inadequately published in English translation,[4] but the edition is far from complete. Because Irénée's older brother Victor was early drawn into the family business and resided over the creek, at Louviers, considerable quantities of Victor material

[4] *Life of Eleuthère Irénée du Pont from Contemporary Correspondence,* translated from the French and with an Introduction by B. G. du Pont. 11 volumes and an index (Newark, Delaware, Privately printed, 1923-1927).

were also added. Then came the papers of Irénée's successors in the business, first his eldest son, Alfred Victor, and then his younger son, General Henry, who was the dominant figure in the business from the 1850's until his death in 1889. But for this later period the business, though a partnership, was becoming more and more institutionalized, and the business records (down to the end of the 19th century) ultimately found their way to the company's Hall of Records, from which they have recently been transferred to the Hagley Museum of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation on the Brandywine.

Let us, therefore, confine ourselves more strictly to the family records which by deliberate intention have been kept in the family orbit. Here the activities of the womenfolk have been remarkably important. Especially do the letters of Irénée du Pont's two youngest daughters Eleuthera and Sophie add color to our picture of Brandywine life in the 1820's. They were in correspondence with their brother Henry, away at school in Germantown and later at West Point, and with their cousin Samuel Francis (the future Admiral) in the Navy, and with friends in Philadelphia, such as Margaretta Lammot (the future Mrs. Alfred Victor du Pont). They (with their elder sister, Victorine) decided to publish a weekly paper of Brandywine news, which they called the "Tancopanican Chronicle." Actually it was hand-written on sheets of letter-paper, but they kept it up from 1823 until the death of their father in 1834.[5] Though neither Eleuthera nor Sophie had formal training, they both had a natural talent for drawing, and they have left us a number of charming caricatures and sketches which vividly portray the life of their day.

What concerns us more than these activities is their penchant for collecting and the rôle which they played in the preservation

[5] In part it has been privately published: *Tancopanican Chronicle 1830-1834*, edited and published by Louise du P. Crowninshield and Pierre S. du Pont (Wilmington, Del., 1949).

of the family records. Not that everything here is commendable from our modern viewpoint. Eleuthera compiled a collection of notable autographs, which seems to have motivated the first major disturbance of the du Pont de Nemours papers. She collected from them choice autograph letters— of Washington, Lafayette, Franklin, Judge Lowell, Quesnay, Diderot, the Bonapartes, Pope Pius VII, to name but a few. These she carefully pasted into scrapbooks, some of which, after her death, her sister Sophie (in the 1880's) just as carefully took apart—with a resultant confusion which may readily be imagined. But Eleuthera's profound regard for history, and for her family's rôle in it, fortunately saved even those pieces which she did not deem worthy of her autograph collection. This same regard, moreover, gave depth and color to her journals, such as the one which she and her husband, Dr. Thomas MacKie Smith, kept of their trip to Europe in 1846 and 1847.

In general, the women of this third generation saved everything. While Irénée du Pont's three sons Alfred Victor, Henry, and Alexis ably managed the powder business, their sisters were primarily responsible for the preservation of the family traditions, ideals, and archives beyond the powder mill domain. All family events were minutely chronicled, even after the days of the "Tancopanican." For instance, every word spoken by Alexis during the hours following the 1857 explosion, in which he was mortally injured, was devoutly written down by his sister Sophie; and before these notes were finally consigned to the archives, members of the family were in turn given an opportunity to make additions and corrections. Eleuthera assumed the custodianship of the family papers, especially after the death of her older sister in 1861. To them she added her own letters and a great number of miscellaneous excerpts which she copied from her voluminous reading. She also did important copying of du Pont de Nemours papers, notably the Autobiography of du Pont

de Nemours[6] which, until recently, appeared to have survived only in the copy made by her. In 1867 she and her sister Sophie published du Pont de Nemours material from the archives for the first time—a limited selection of his letters printed privately for themselves and for their cousins.[7] When Eleuthera died in 1876, the early papers in her collection were all left to her sister Sophie, the last of Irénée du Pont's daughters to survive.

By virtue of her marriage in 1833 to her first cousin, Samuel Francis du Pont, Sophie had previously accumulated an important body of early family papers from the Victor du Pont side of the family: correspondence (including du Pont de Nemours letters); Victor du Pont's vivid journals and travel records; a veritable autobiography of Victor's talented wife, Gabrielle-Joséphine de Pelleport. We have, in all, nine different manuscripts of her authorship, eight of which are as yet unpublished.[8] In content these range from a colorful account of her youth, spent on the aristocratic fringes of court life at Versailles, to an equally detailed description of the du Pont emigration to America and of what must have been for her the most difficult adjustment in life—three years spent in the wilderness of the Genesee valley. At present we cannot say with any assurance just what percentage of the Victor du Pont papers have found their way to Longwood. It is certain, however, that we owe many treasures to Mrs. S. F. du Pont, who was a resident of Louviers from her marriage until her death sixty-five years later. A semi-invalid for most of her life, Sophie devoted her later years to religious pursuits and to watching over the family traditions, which included work with the early papers. After the death of her illustrious husband in

[6] Published as *L'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Du Pont de Nemours Racontées par Lui-même*, edited by H. A. du Pont de Nemours (Paris, 1906).

[7] *Extraits de Lettres de Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours à ses Enfants* (New York, Privately printed, 1867).

[8] Gabrielle-Joséphine de la Fite de Pelleport du Pont, "Souvenir épars de ma jeunesse dédiés à mes enfans" [edited by May du Pont Saulsbury as, *Souvenirs de Madame Victor Marie du Pont de Nemours (Gabrielle Joséphine de la Fite de Pelleport) dédiés à ses enfans*] (Wilmington, Privately printed, 1908).

1865, his naval records commanded her every attention. Having arranged these to her satisfaction, and published two excellent volumes of his letters and dispatches,[9] she turned to the other family papers. We are especially indebted to her for choosing her eminently capable nephew, Col. Henry A. du Pont, to assume responsibility for the family archives after her death, and for guiding him in his initial work on them. There was close coöperation between her and Col. Henry during the years 1886 to 1888. She had every reason for the confidence in him which the terms of her will imply: "I also give to my said nephew, Henry, all papers and documents in my possession relating to the family, and the papers and correspondence of my late husband. I have explained to him my views and wishes in relation to the same."

Thus the principal collection of the du Pont family records passed along with the books to Col. Henry A. du Pont of Winterthur. I have already spoken of the fine scholarly use which he made of them. The manuscripts were included with the books in the negotiations between Messrs. H. F. du Pont and P. S. du Pont in 1949, and many of them passed from Winterthur to the Longwood Library at that time. Not all of the family papers were transferred to Longwood at this time, but there seems good reason to hope that what was auspiciously begun in 1949 will soon be brought to its logical conclusion. Thus the Longwood Library has come to be the repository of a family collection of books and manuscripts which, while by no means complete, must surely be reckoned one of the most remarkable to be met with anywhere in this country. Our work with it has not yet reached the point where we can speak statistically with any great assurance; but I believe it will transpire that the manuscript collection alone amounts to not less than 300,000 pieces.

Though I have mainly emphasized the family aspect of the

[9] *Official Dispatches and Letters of Rear Admiral du Pont, U. S. Navy, 1846-48, 1861-63* (Wilmington, Del., 1883). *Extracts from private journal—Letters of Captain S. F. DuPont, while in command of the Cyane, during the war with Mexico, 1846-1848* (Wilmington, Del., Privately printed, 1865).

collection, I must not pass over its importance for local and national history. The coming of this intellectual and sophisticated family to our shores was watched with interest by President Jefferson. From the time that Irénée du Pont established himself as a manufacturer in Delaware, he and his family became identified with figures and events of local and national importance. From a local standpoint these du Pont papers are rich in material for Delaware history. From a national standpoint they are even more impressive, for, aside from the preëminence which the du Ponts attained in the manufacture of gunpowder and other explosives, they provided some notable figures in a Civil War admiral, a general, and a lieutenant-colonel.

The papers of Admiral Samuel Francis du Pont, which run to many thousands, constitute a remarkable series. They afford a full record of a naval career which culminated in his command of the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron and in the attack on Port Royal and Charleston during the Civil War, but long before these memorable events one reads details of his many cruises in early years to the Mediterranean and to the far Pacific. There is much relating to his participation in California and in Mexican waters during the Mexican War. A fascinating body of papers relates to the first visit of Japanese emissaries to the United States in 1860, as du Pont was one of those who escorted the Oriental diplomats while here. The portion of the papers covering the Civil War years is naturally of greatest value. Because he became a highly controversial figure as a result of the unsuccessful attack on Charleston, and because this attack employed an entirely new type of warship, the attention of naval students both here and abroad has been centered upon him. His rift with government authorities in Washington, and the very able and outspoken defense of him by so celebrated a political figure as Henry Winter Davis, a close family friend, are highlighted by numerous documents in the collection. These await the closest scrutiny of Civil War historians.

The careers of General Henry du Pont and his son, Col. Henry A. du Pont, while less spectacular than those of their naval cousin, are nonetheless important for the light they throw on military activity and their reflections of the ideals of two staunch Union men. Unfortunately the Longwood papers which relate to them are so far very incomplete and form but a fraction of the bulk which deals with their naval relative.

I turn now to what we are attempting to do with the Longwood books and the Longwood papers. They have on occasion in the past been worked at seriously by interested members of the family, notably by Sophie du Pont, by Col. Henry A. du Pont, by Mrs. Bessie Gardner du Pont, and by Pierre S. du Pont. The most voluminous and probably the best known publications are those of Mrs. du Pont;[10] those based on the soundest scholarship are Col. Henry A. du Pont's. With very rare exceptions outside scholars have not been permitted access to the collection,[11] and the necessary work of organizing it into an effective manageable library and archive has not been done.

Since the arrival of the present Director in July, 1955, this work has been taken in hand. A competent staff has been assembled. The reorganization and the cataloguing of the book collection was undertaken first. This operation is now well on its way and should be brought to substantial completion within a year or two. The very considerable task of repair and rebinding of the books is also making good progress. A reasonably adequate reference collection is in process of being assembled.

The task of dealing effectively with the manuscripts is a much larger and more difficult one. It proved impossible to get started

[10] Besides the *Life of Eleuthère Irénée du Pont* already cited, the following titles may be mentioned: *E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company, a History, 1802-1902* (Boston and New York, 1920); Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, *National Education in the United States of America*, translated by B. G. du Pont (Newark, Del., 1923); *Lives of Victor and Josephine du Pont* (Newark, Del., Privately printed, 1930); *Du Pont de Nemours 1739-1817* (Newark, Del., 1933), 2 vols.

[11] Some assistance was given to Gustave Schelle in the preparation of *Du Pont de Nemours et l'École Physiocratique* (Paris, 1888), but Schelle never worked in this country.

with it until last September, and it will doubtless require several years to bring it to completion. To this end a manuscripts department under a chief and two assistants has been established, and the work of preparing a fairly detailed inventory of the whole collection has been undertaken. The inventory when completed will be bound in typescript volumes and indexed. It will then serve as our primary finding aid until the collection has been catalogued.

After the inventory will come integration. It will readily be recognized that the original logical order which must have existed in earlier years among these papers, relating to nearly a dozen members of the family, has frequently been disturbed. With the inventory completed and indexed, it will become possible to recognize the logical series of the papers and to sort them and rearrange them into an integrated whole. Any readily recognized *fond* which can be retained or reconstructed will, of course, be utilized, and every effort will be made to achieve chronological order within series.

Once inventorying and integration are completed, the final task of cataloguing individual items will begin. A card file, arranged alphabetically and listing each item, is our goal. All documents will be numbered, and this will give to each item its proper designation for referencing within the collection as well as in all published citations. Eventually, when the catalogue is finished, it is our intention to reproduce the cards for two additional files, one to be arranged chronologically and the other by subjects. The subject catalogue, while difficult to form, will be based on brief descriptive entries set down in the initial steps of cataloguing.

Our ultimate goal is, of course, a published guide or handbook to the du Pont Papers in the Longwood Library. While this objective lies somewhat in the future, its utility cannot be gainsaid; for such a volume will find its way to the shelves of research libraries many miles removed from the original manuscripts, and into the hands of countless scholars. It will do more to enhance

the value of the collection to historians than any other single publication, and it will draw scholars to us.

At this point in our work the inventory is within several months of completion, and a year hence the last stages of integration will, we believe, have been reached. We are, I feel, making creditable progress if one bears in mind the large mass of the papers to be handled. We only ask the indulgence of prospective researchers, since we can hardly find ourselves in a position to give more than limited access until cataloguing is well advanced. Yet it is our intention to have at least one major series ready for public use in connection with the approaching centennial of the Civil War. This is the collection of Admiral du Pont's papers. The inventory of these is nearly completed, and their integration will be accomplished during the coming summer. By autumn we hope to begin a catalogue of this particular group.

The Longwood Library is naturally interested in learning of du Pont materials in other libraries and archives. A close examination of French archival sources in Paris is already in progress, and we are fortunate in having the services of a man who has served the Library of Congress in similar missions for more than forty years. With his assistance we hope to collect in photocopy many additional letters and papers relating to du Pont de Nemours and to his sons.

In conclusion, I shall make one observation about a possible future development of much interest. Until quite recently it has been the prevailing thought, since the idea was first conceived by P. S. du Pont, that the Longwood Library should be the recognized depository of the family books and papers, as contrasted with the company records which have been preserved by the Du Pont Company in its official archives, the Hall of Records. However, with the establishment of the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation and the undertaking to develop an historic site and museum area on the Brandywine where the original powder mills had been, it was recognized that the company records for the first

century (1802-1902) had a more important interest and value for the Brandywine project than they had for company administration. These early company records were accordingly transferred to the library of the Hagley Museum.

Experience has taught us, both at Hagley and at Longwood, that the association between family and company during the first hundred years was so intimate that the attempt to divide the records, however logical in theory, is extremely difficult and inconvenient in practice. Moreover, the development and maintenance of two libraries, in subjects so closely related and at a distance of only a few miles from each other, is hardly good economy. A study is now being made of the desirability of forming a joint library for the service of the two projects. Should the proposal be carried through, the Longwood Library collections of which I have been speaking would then be reinforced with a fine company collection, coming down to the end of the partnership and to the adoption of a corporate organization.

The remarkable contributions which are being made in the field of business and economic history in this country can only be richer in consequence. The study of the history of industry which has become so much a part of historical activity in our time holds much appeal. It is important that it be fostered by suitable access to significant corporate archives, and that properly qualified scholars be encouraged to utilize such resources. Each body of material which becomes available to historians forms a new component in the range of historical storehouses. We know that the du Pont materials hold attractions of the most positive sort for the men and women who are writing American economic history; and this fact places a serious obligation on us as custodians. At the beginning of this paper I remarked that the Longwood Library is new and still waits to become generally known to the scholarly public. Since it intends in due course to find its place among comparable scholarly institutions, it only remains for me to say that its utility can and must increase.

The Bureau Académique d'Écriture: A Footnote to the History of French Calligraphy*

By James M. Wells

THE original impetus for this paper came from a footnote to one of Stanley Morison's monographs,[1] and his suggestion that perhaps someday I might attempt to find out something about the various bodies of writing-masters mentioned there; true scholarly accuracy might perhaps demand that I amend my title, calling it a footnote to a footnote. Few printed sources are cited, since few are available; most of the data were assembled, fact by fact, from the privileges and prefaces of a great number of French writing-books, from the published and manuscript records of the French writing-masters' guilds, and from a collection of writing-masters' correspondence and records at the Newberry Library. While a fair amount is known about the bookscribes of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, far less information exists about the humbler but equally useful writers and masters who taught the ordinary, informal hands used for ordinary, informal business. This paper is an attempt to cast some light on these extremely earnest, conscientious, and hitherto unsung heroes.[2]

The Enlightenment was an age which firmly believed in the efficacy of academies, encyclopaedias, and similar attempts at

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Chicago, Ill., May 13, 1955.

[1] *Latin Script Since the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 11.

[2] J. Bonzon, *La Corporation des Maîtres Écrivains et l'expertise en écritures sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1899), the only lengthy work on the corps of writing-masters, is concerned primarily with their legal function as handwriting experts and verifiers.

systematizing and diffusing knowledge. The writing-masters of Paris, not immune to the Spirit of the Age, formed one such learned body, whose members read papers to one another every Thursday afternoon and which subsidized the publication of particularly worthwhile essays in its *Mémoires*. The *Bureau Académique de l'Écriture*, as the group at one time styled itself, had a considerably longer pedigree than most of the other eighteenth-century academies, for its predecessors dated back more than two centuries. Moreover, its origin had an uncommon reason. Chapter One of its history begins, in fact, with an alleged forgery and a hanging. Only once again, so far as one can ascertain, did it reach such heights.

In the year 1569, during the religious troubles in France, Pierre Hamon, Secretary to the King, was accused of treason, found guilty, and hanged.[3] A gifted calligrapher and an amateur palaeographer, Hamon had been writing-master to the young Charles IX and had sufficiently won his pupil's confidence to be asked to remain in his service after he attained the throne. Hamon had proven himself both a scholar and a pedagogue since, in addition to the conventional engraved copy-book expected of a writing-master, he had compiled a manuscript collection of palaeographic copies, having gained the King's permission to use the royal libraries as well as those of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Victor. This collection later proved highly useful to Mabillon, who praised it in his *Traité*.

The precise nature of Hamon's crime is conjectural: some biographical dictionaries state that sonnets abusing the King were found in his possession, an unlikely sounding charge to be levelled against a protégé of Charles. The Calvinists assert that he was hanged for his religious principles and list him among their martyrs. (A number of able French writing-masters, among them Beauchesne and the parents of Esther Inglis, were Huguenots.) The version given in a side-note to a copy of the reg-

[3] Henri Omont, "Le Recueil d'anciennes écritures de Pierre Hamon," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, LXII (1901).

ister of the corporation of writing-masters, preserved at the *Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris* (FGms 1035), recounts that when a number of forgeries were found among the King's papers, a group of professional scribes was summoned to examine the documents and to identify the culprit. They accused Hamon, whose dexterity with the pen had already been demonstrated in his copies of old documents, and brought about his downfall before the King could intervene.

To guard against the recurrence of so grave a crime and to institute a regular procedure for the legal verification of handwriting, it was decided to establish a corporation of *Experts écrivains jurez*, sworn to uphold the duties and responsibilities of the craft, in return for which it obtained a royal charter. As an added mark of royal favor, members were allowed to style themselves *Secrétaires ordinaires du Roi.* The nine original members included Adam Charles, the King's personal secretary and writing-master, and Perrier and Fustel, the writing-masters at the University. Antoine Perrier was chosen the first Syndic. The corporation was entrusted with sole responsibility for the verification of documents and signatures, and in addition ordered to regulate the teaching of writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and foreign exchange. The latter assignment led to endless wrangling with the masters of the grammar schools, under the jurisdiction of the canons of Notre Dame, who felt that an unreasonable monopoly had been imposed and who frequently ignored the stipulation.[4]

The *Communauté des Experts Écrivains Jurez* was one of a great number of such corporations of artisans and craftsmen established during the late sixteenth century, supplementing the hundred-odd guilds dating back to the Middle Ages which are listed in the fourteenth-century roster of Paris trade organizations.[5] This

[4] René de Lespinasse, *Les Métiers et Corporations de la Ville de Paris* (Paris, 1897), III, 665-670.

[5] E. M. Saint-Léon, *Histoire des Corporations de Métiers* (Paris, 1897) is a good, brief (671 pp.) treatment of the importance and development of the organized *(jurés) corps des métiers* in France, as well as of the unorganized (*libres*) trades and cities. Most of the artisans and tradesmen of Paris were organized, while those

roll names none of the callings directly responsible to the University, which included all those connected with publishing, among them the mediaeval guild of writers and scriveners. There was a two-fold reason for increasing the number of corporations: first, it placed many more artisans and tradesmen under direct state control, since the corporations were required to obtain their warrants from the King or the *Parlement de Paris* and to submit their statutes for approval. Secondly, the creation of corporations was of considerable fiscal importance, since these bodies could be used as an instrument for taxing non-landowners. The corporations themselves were made taxing bodies: parts of the entry fees, the fines, and the miscellaneous charges collected were payable into the royal treasury. The writing-masters were fortunate in escaping the worst of these; like the teachers and masters of arts of the University of Paris, they were exempt from the payment of "*commissions abjectes et charges viles*," a tribute to the necessity and dignity of their craft.

The earliest statutes of the Corporation, summarized in A. Franklin's *Dictionnaire historique des Arts, Métiers, et Professions*[6] required that a candidate for admission be of good character and habits, that he profess the Catholic faith, and that he have been a resident of Paris for at least three years. The Corporation was allowed a high degree of self-regulation: its members were permitted to appoint their own examiners and to establish their own standards, apprenticeship terms, and schedules of fees.

Soon after the Corporation's founding, it began to manifest an interest in raising the standards of writing, and in simplifying and standardizing the hands used in France, where, to a far greater extent than elsewhere, handwriting was set by government decree. Official handwriting was governed by the *Parlement de Paris*, and the hands used in all bureaus and offices had to conform to officially approved varieties. In Italy, the other prime source of

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in other important commercial centers, especially Lyons, remained unorganized for the most part.

[6] (Paris, 1906), pp. 284-287.

western European scripts, varieties might develop from several sources: the Papal chancery; the chanceries of the various states; such commercial centers as Venice, Genoa, or Florence. The two most commonly used hands in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France were the *française*, sometimes called *ronde* and, in the sizes used by the Ministry of Finance, *financière*; and the *bâtarde italienne*, frequently called simply *bâtarde* or *italienne*. The *ronde* is a full, upright hand, descended from the French mediaeval Gothic cursive and resembling *bâtarde* or *civilité* types. The *bâtarde italienne* is an inclined italic cursive derived from sixteenth-century Italian chancery models but, unlike a pure chancery script, allowing a few loops and ligatures, on the model of Vespasiano. Outside the government, however, many variants of the two scripts were in use and, according to the complaints of the writing-masters, were miserably executed. M. Vallain, a member of the Corporation, writing two centuries later,[7] states that at the time the Corporation was formed scarcely anyone in France, except for priests and lawyers, could read and write, and that illiteracy was considered a mark of good breeding; moreover, he goes on, French handwriting of the sixteenth century was far inferior to that of the twelfth. While this sounds suspiciously like the cry of an aggrieved professional who feels his own subject unfairly neglected (indeed, it has a familiar ring today), one must admit that French documents of the Renaissance are far less beautiful and legible than their Italian counterparts.

In 1633 the *Parlement de Paris*, taking cognizance of the decline of handwriting standards, called for consultation with the writing-masters. It was agreed that both the French and the Italian scripts had valid uses: scholars and courtiers were inclined to use the *lettre italienne*, while the ministries and the more conservative professions preferred the national hand. Accordingly, it was decreed that exemplars of both scripts be prepared and recorded as approved models, and that engraved copies be widely distributed. Barbedor, one of the greatest of the contemporary masters, author

[7] *Lettres a Mr. de *** sur l'Art d'Écrire* . . . (Paris, 1760).

of a number of writing-books and currently Syndic of the Corporation, was assigned the writing of the *lettres françaises*, and Etienne Le Bé, member of a family famous for typefounding and papermaking as well as calligraphy, was given the *italienne*. The Corporation was granted the privilege of engraving, distributing, and selling the models throughout the kingdom. From that year most of the copy-books offer both hands.

The Corporation's charter was renewed under successive reigns —generally after the payment of a new fee to the royal purse. One finds records of the issuance of letters of patent in 1570, 1595, 1607, 1615, and again in 1616. In 1727 the statutes and regulations were redrawn and made more explicit. The new set contained thirty sections, covering details of admission, administration, rights and privileges, and fees. All members were required to be Catholics in good standing, as substantiated by baptismal record and a confessor's certificate; moreover their morals had to be vouched for by two reliable citizens, a far more detailed proof than that required from other groups. The Crown may have had in mind the Corporation's second scandal, the case of M. Raveneau, who, in 1665 published a celebrated treatise on forgeries and their detection in which he so clearly and thoroughly covered the subject that in 1670 further distribution of his book was banned throughout France. A few years later he was condemned to life imprisonment for too complete mastery of his specialty.[8]

Writing-masters were required by the 1727 statutes to pass a three-day examination on writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and orthography, as well as a supplementary examination on the veri-

[8] An unpublished manuscript outline for a history and encyclopaedia of French handwriting by M. Bédigis, a Parisian master writing in 1800, discusses *l'affaire Raveneau* at great length. (Newberry Wing Ms. fZW 2.086). Raveneau was indiscreet enough to assert that it was possible to commit forgeries so skillfully that they could not be detected, and that he was good enough to do so, as well as to sneer at the ability of his fellows of the Corporation. The latter immediately took umbrage, pointing out that he was either a liar or a potential criminal—and eventually brought about his downfall.

fication of signatures and documents.[9] They were expected to know the proper titles and modes of address for requests to the King and communications to officers of the court and ministry. Elder sons were admitted without examination and at a reduced fee;[10] widows were permitted to teach writing and take in boarding pupils, but not to proclaim themselves masters on their shingles. Once again the Corporation was granted a monopoly in the teaching of penmanship, a privilege which had been withdrawn in 1716. Within a few years, however, they gave up the struggle of enforcing the grant and agreed that schoolmasters could teach writing on payment of an annual fee, retaining for themselves exclusive rights as handwriting experts. Administration and regulation of the Corporation was vested in the Syndic and Recorder, elected every two years, and a Council composed of the twenty-four senior masters. The seriousness with which the sessions of the Corporation were taken can be inferred from the rule that all members, under penalty of fine, were enjoined to doff their swords before entering the meeting-hall. In 1738 the Lieutenant-General of Police had to issue a ruling reaffirming this rule, and laying down strict regulations for the orderly conduct of meetings.[11] One wonders what battles of the pen engendered such heat.

Among the most important innovations in the 1727 articles was the formation of a new body, the *Académie Royale d'écriture*, scheduled to meet every Thursday afternoon from two until six o'clock in the rooms of the Corporation. The membership was instructed to elect four of its seniors, with four juniors as alternates, to lecture on writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and verification;

[9] *Statuts et Réglemens de la Communauté des Maistres Experts Jurés-Ecrivains* (Paris, 1729).

[10] That this privilege was exercised is proven by the occurrence of some family names through generation after generation: Du Val, Raveneau, Le Bé, to name only a few.

[11] Published in 1742, in Paris: *Sentence . . . portant Réglement . . . des Maistres Experts Ecrivains. . . .*

these were privileged in return to call themselves professors of their respective subjects.

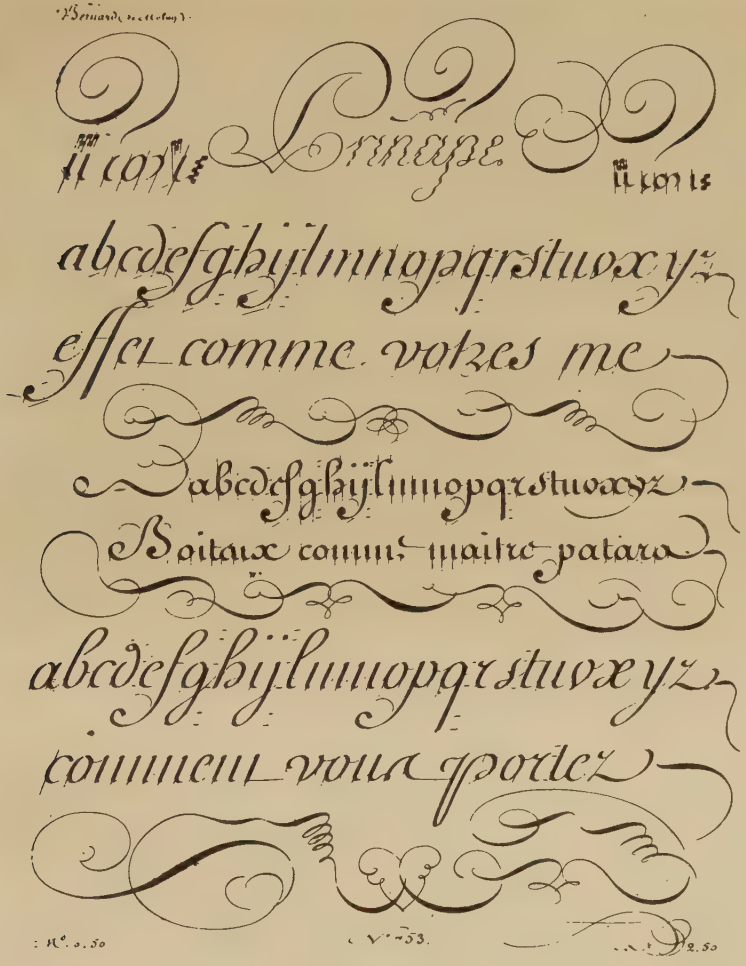
The Academy, conceived in 1727, had a rather lengthy gestation; the opening session was held on February 25, 1762, with a number of distinguished guests in attendance, among them the city magistrates and the Lieutenant-General of Police. MM. d'Autrèpe and Paillasson read papers setting forth the aims of the new body: the desire to reawaken interest in a sadly neglected art and to demonstrate concern for the public welfare. M. d'Autrèpe, who disclaimed any intention of delivering a conventional eulogy of penmanship, proceeded to do so in a lengthy and impassioned oration in which the grandeur and utility of writing were praised and proven by ample quotation from the classics; in peroration he denounced the editors of the *Encyclopédie* for classing writing among the useful rather than the fine arts. M. Paillasson was less modest. He traced the history of writing from the Egyptians to his own day, saluted the most ablè scribes of the past three centuries, gave a concise history of the Corporation, mentioned the hands currently in favor, scored off the masters of the grammar-schools (apparently still poaching), ventured on a brief history of arithmetic, and concluded with a bibliography of the best available books—a rather neat achievement for quite a short paper.

To commemorate its first session, the Academy printed the two addresses in a pleasant and decorative little pamphlet, embellished with an engraved allegorical frontispiece and a headpiece signed by Papillon.[12] It also commissioned the striking of a commemorative medal in gold to accompany the royal presentation copy, and ordered that each professor receive a silver replica on completing his term of office.

In the memoranda of the Academy for this period, one frequently finds mention of the *coulée*, the hand which had gradually supplanted both the *ronde* and the *bâtarde*. The older generation

[12] *Discours et Dissertations Lus le 25 Février 1762 . . . á l'Ouverture & premiere Séance de l'Académie des Experts Ecrivains Vérificateurs . . .* (Paris, 1762).

disparaged the new hand as unsightly unless written perfectly, and far less legible than *bâtarde*. It combined features of the other pointed, with several letter forms from the *ronde*. The name itself



means a running hand; its great advantage, speed, came from its two hands, being sloped like the *bâtarde*, but thinner and more currency. While such a hand existed, and was occasionally shown in seventeenth-century books (one plate in Lucas Materot's 1608 *Oeuvres* shows a version of the *italienne* which has the characteris-

tic loops and ligatures of the *coulée*), it did not acquire popularity nor a name until early in the eighteenth century; its first detailed exposition apparently is that in the first volume of Nicolas Duval, *Pratique Universelle des Sciences les plus Nécessaires au Commerce et á la Vie Civile* . . . (Paris, 1725). By the '60's it had become the dominant variety of script. Another hand which gained favor during the late eighteenth century was the *grosse posée bâtarde*, demonstrated in the 1769 treatise dedicated by M. Dubourg, writing-master of Bayonne, to the Academy.[13] It is a large, bold version of the *bâtarde*, faster than the *italienne*, less apt to break down under speed than the *coulée*. Dubourg's treatise is interesting not only for its version of a new hand, but for the historical and critical notes appended, in which he paid eloquent tribute to Rossignol, who had been his own master, as well as to the current Parisian favorites Alais and Paillasson, the latter the agent for his book. There is also considerable discussion of the state of penmanship in contemporary France, during which one learns that the *bâtarde*, which had almost disappeared from Paris and the inland cities, survived in the ports, perhaps because of its wide foreign use. While the Academy's own publications were few, it occasionally accepted the dedication of books it considered worthwhile. Provincial masters like Dubourg acquired cachet at home through a link with the great Royal Academy at Paris. Such provincial masters were eligible for associate membership in the Academy; honorary membership was accorded to personages of the royal household or high members of the government. There had always been patrons of fine writing at Versailles; the glorious era of Colbert was frequently cited as the golden age of penmanship, when a good hand was a requisite to advancement in the bureaucracy.

In 1779, when the statutes of the Corporation were again revised, the Academy was once more reorganized, this time as the

[13] *Traité sur les Principes de la Grosse Posée Bâtarde* (Bayonne, 1769). Another provincial associate who dedicated a work to the *Académie* was M. Jacques Dubois, of Dijon, whose *Histoire Abrégée de l'Écriture* (Dijon and Paris, 1772) is a useful and for the most part accurate guide to its subject.

Bureau Academique de l'Écriture. While no longer under royal patronage, it still was under the sponsorship of the Lieutenant-General of Police. Meetings were again scheduled for every Thursday, but no longer, alas, at the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. The new group met with some regularity, for there are printed *Mémoires* for 1781, 1783, and 1784. If one can judge from the printed proceedings, the change was one in name only. The problems remained the same: the neglect of handwriting, the poor pay and low status of the writing-master, the war with the grammar-schools, now in its third century. There are technical papers on teaching methods and the conduct of public classes; a method for teaching the blind is outlined. There are the conventional eulogies of the great masters of bygone years, one, that of M. Bédigis, showing considerable familiarity with sixteenth-century scribes, especially Palatino. Bédigis blamed the decadence of writing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries upon the exaggerated flourishes and ligaturing of late chancery hands.

Other *bureaux académiques,* modelled upon that of Paris, were organized in the provinces. The masters of Toulouse published their statutes and regulations in a style almost identical with that of the parent body,[14] and conducted its meetings in the same way. With the Revolution and the dissolution of the corporations the writing-masters, like other groups of artisans and professionals, found it increasingly difficult to maintain their common interest. They tried to form a *Societé de l'Écriture,* which would carry on the tradition, but theirs was a losing battle. As literacy increased and public schools became more common, the writing-master became an anachronism. The records of the *Societé* complain of sparse attendance and slight interest; after 1811, one finds no further trace of it, although it may have lingered for a few years after that. The writing-masters, like the old soldiers they were, apparently never died, but simply faded away.

[14] *Lettres-Patentes du Roi, portant établissement d'un Bureau Académique d'Écriture* . . . (Toulouse, 1786).

Love for the Printed Word as Expressed in the Scheide Library*

By William H. Scheide

SELDOM have I felt so honored as to have the privilege of standing in so significant an institution as this and addressing so distinguished a gathering. But as soon as I begin to open my mouth I am overcome by the most extreme feelings of humility, even of embarrassment. For my assignment, broadly speaking, is to talk to you about books, and the person in this room who knows the least about that subject is undoubtedly myself. That you undertake to listen to me in such circumstances I can only take as a signal tribute to our family library. And so if we may regard the Scheide Library as the real recipient of any honor gained through my presence here and myself as only its unworthy representative, I shall at least try to go ahead.

Some of the themes I expect to touch on have been objects of my thought over a number of years. I can imagine some audiences where I might declaim them with some passion. But in a group like this I feel I should be on the receiving, rather than the giving end of any exhortation. So forgive me for any excess of evangelical fervor in over-obvious causes. Put them down as a parochial phenomenon of northwestern Pennsylvania where they have been eating their hearts out for three generations.

I am taking the liberty of assuming that most of you are not ignorant of the general character of the Scheide Library. It is still to be found in Titusville, Pennsylvania, in the beautiful room designed for it by a Philadelphia architect, a college class-

* Read at the meeting of the Society at the Free Library of Philadelphia, May 17, 1957.

mate of my father. The prime source of information about it is still the excellent little monograph *The Scheide Library; A Summary View of its History and its Outstanding Books Together with an account of its Two Founders: William Taylor Scheide and John Hinsdale Scheide*, by Julian P. Boyd (Privately printed, 1947). (I may conclude this commercial by adding that I still have copies of this volume for sale to any interested parties.) It is true that there are fascinating items in the Library that are not mentioned by Mr. Boyd, but one can hardly say that he has missed any of the highlights. In so small a collection the cream of these can be skimmed rather quickly: the Brinley copy of the 42-line Bible in the original binding which caused the Green Mountain Boy Henry Stevens to issue his famous instructions to customs officials, the Duke of Sussex copy of the 1462 Fust and Schöffer Bible (one of the most gorgeous books I have ever seen), the Anglo-Saxon manuscript called the Blickling Homilies, a complete Wyclif Bible manuscript of about 1400, a perfect copy of the first edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the Herschel V. Jones copy of the Williamsburg Washington *Journal*, a perfect set (I believe) of Shakespeare folios plus an extra copy of the first, three Caxtons—this gives you an idea of the sort of thing to be found in the small safe which my father bought to house his more valuable acquisitions. Most of these items are well described in Mr. Boyd's book.

All this has now been inherited by a person (myself) who is not at all a bookman in the sense that my father and grandfather were, or even that I suppose a member of the Bibliographical Society of America really ought to be. Yet though my main interests have never been and probably never will be in book collecting, I have made a few additions to the library in the last five years or so which may be of interest. There is first the French New Testament, printed by Guillaume Le Roi in two columns, which Dr. Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt described in his short study "The First Edition of the New Testament in French" in the

Bibliographical Notes of the First Quarter, 1957, PAPERS of the B.S.A. Then there is the Capponi copy of the Four Voyages of Vespucci and the first Columbus Letter printed by Plannck (Harrisse No. 1), mentioning only Ferdinand and not Isabella in the title, to supplement the library's *vetustissima Americana* (my father already had the dated edition printed by Silber, Harrisse No. 3). I have also added four more Fust and Schöffer imprints, the most notable of which is the Saxe-Gotha copy of the 1459 Durandus. A defective first Mallèrmi Italian Bible, Wendelin of Spire 1471, and some three Jensons round out my principal acquisitions to date. I believe they fit nicely into the library as conceived by its founders.

But my purpose in being here is not to recite an inventory of the Scheide Library. I understand my assignment to be rather more a discussion of the principles that put the library together. This is of considerably greater interest to me, and I am quite sure would have been to my father as well. After his death in 1942, while rummaging through his desk I came across a writing pad on which the following had been written in his own clear hand: "During recent years I have harbored a growing conviction that something should be said for the book collector. It will be observed that I use the word 'for' and not the word 'about'. I have no illusions as to any special 'calling' on my part to such a task. I have been hearing no 'heavenly voices'. I have no crusader's zeal in this matter. Perhaps I may use the figure of Elsa telling a dream in the hope that some valiant champion, like her invincible son of Parsival, may appear to strike down the traducers of the goodly company of bibliophiles." This was evidently the beginning of an article that my father never finished. I have often wondered what he would have gone on to say. Certainly I cannot pretend to finish that article. But in thinking about it I have "observed" (to use my father's word) that he used the phrase "book collector." He did not say "Henry James collector" or "Restoration collector," or "incunabula" or "Bible" or "Americana collec-

tor"—only "book collector." In other words he made no reference to the contents of the books to be collected. He didn't even say whether the collector should also be a reader of the books he collects. And indeed reading and collecting are very different activities. Many avid readers never collect: they borrow from libraries administered by members of the B.S.A. But, conversely, is it possible for collectors to have no interest in the content of their books? Of course you people know that is perfectly true, but I have found many who have trouble with it. And because of my background it puzzled me.

I grew up with a library which was already two generations old. My playroom was directly over copies of such works as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, the folios of Muratori and the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. This was the air I breathed, and no one in the family ever thought to question it. I was therefore surprised in later life when outsiders impertinently asked: "What do you have all these books for when you can't read them?" My father was not the kind of man to be asked such questions, and I never heard him give a succinct statement that would answer it. Nevertheless as good a clue to his thinking as any is probably to be found in the bookplate which he designed about 1913, near the beginning of his collecting activities. It consists of a keystone with the word "SCHEIDE" at the bottom while in the middle is an open book with an inscription from John 8:32: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." I believe that the principles which created the Scheide Library can well be explained by an exegesis of this text.

The crucial part of the text to me is the first three words "Ye shall know." Who is meant by "ye"? Is it Wyclif's "rich clerkis," bred in reading Latin with ready access to expensive manuscripts? Without depreciating the cultural transmission and dissemination accomplished in the Middle Ages, the number of persons directly affected seems negligible compared to the public available for the printed book beginning in the fifteenth and particularly

in the sixteenth century. If the word "ye" is to be given a really inclusive meaning it can refer only to the public reached by the printed word. I know that this was my father's definition of it. It is the preëminent reason why manuscripts always occupied a subordinate place in his library. "Ye shall know"—as a result of Gutenberg's discovery the great mass of mankind for the first time has had a chance to learn something it did not know before. For if the desirability of the spread of knowledge is postulated and accepted, the supreme importance of the spread of printing follows immediately.

How did this principle come to be adopted in the Scheide Library? It seems to me that it is a logical if not inevitable development issuing from the omnivorous reading habits of my grandfather, William T. Scheide. I well remember the family tradition that as a schoolboy my grandfather was daily given a few pennies for his lunch, but that instead of satisfying his hunger he saved the money and spent it on books. One day his teacher asked him to recite in class. Receiving no reply, the teacher crept up behind him to find him hopelessly absorbed in one of the Waverley Novels. The story ended on an exalted note with the teacher admitting to the class that my grandfather was spending his time more profitably than if he had been paying attention.

At any rate, with this kind of start, it is not surprising that by his middle twenties my grandfather already owned several compendia of historical sources, a *Nuremberg Chronicle*, first editions of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, a Shakespeare First Folio facsimile, manuals on photography, glass-making, military engineering, mathematics (to mention only a few of the scientific fields), travel books of many sorts, and a large number of newspaper and periodical files reaching back into the eighteenth century as well as standard editions of standard authors in literature, science and history. A list of the individual titles would be more to the point but too time-consuming. A number of them are detailed in Mr. Boyd's book, and he adds this comment: "It was a

library that would have done credit to any professional scholar . . . [and] in creating [it in the Pennsylvania oil country of the 1870's] he wrote for himself and for his times one of the most interesting chapters in the annals of American book-collecting."

One may well wonder if any unifying principle could be discovered in so diversified a library, but my grandfather knew well enough where he was going. His interests were primarily historical, and this has remained the basic direction of the Scheide Library. I have sometimes thought of private libraries as children born to a particular collector but begotten by a particular academic department. It has seemed to me, for example, that one of the most prolific sires in this field has been the English Department. Surely many collections have been formed of authors first encountered in English Department courses. The Scheide Library is not so descended. A paternity test would undoubtedly reveal the History Department. In his reading of history my grandfather discovered the susceptibility of men to ideas. He became increasingly impressed with the volcanic effects of the spread of ideas in shaping modern history. The idea that a man chooses he usually calls "the truth," and the Scheide bookplate reads: "Ye shall know the truth." Now the word truth has not only scientific but, more anciently, religious connotations. Perhaps it has now become mainly a scientific word—I do not know —but historically it cannot be so considered or limited. If it includes those religious springs of action which have spilled over the pages of western history, the rôle of the Jewish-Christian religious tradition must necessarily be considered and, in particular, the book which it invests with religious awe by calling it "the word of God."

My grandfather did not always feel that the moral aspects of truth could be learned from books. During the sordid days of President Grant's administration he delivered himself on this subject in no uncertain terms: "Men cannot by reading books become either honest or honorable. Personal purity and self-denial,

strict integrity and a horror of fraud, love of truth and hatred of sophistry, all that is manly and of good report, are gained by men from precept and example, but never from books. The life of a good man is worth more to the State than all the books in all its libraries." I wonder how many other founders of libraries would have said that. Perhaps in reacting later from so extreme a statement, my grandfather came to think more favorably of the thought expressed in 2 Timothy 3:16-17: "All scripture is . . . profitable for . . . instruction in righteousness that . . . man . . . may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." Incidentally, this very text in its full form was inscribed in the bold autograph of Martin Luther on the inside cover of one of his Bibles which he presented to an old friend. It is now one of the interesting association items in the Scheide Library.

Naturally, as important a collection of Bibles as the Library eventually became often aroused more interest in ecclesiastical than in historical circles. And my father, an active churchman, was fond of saying: "It is significant that the first book to be printed was a Bible." I remember one time in my prep-school English class an assignment to write an essay on the Bible. As I recall, I indulged in some edifying remarks including the phrase "saving souls." Discussing this later with my father, I was interested to discover that while he had no objection to use of the Bible for edification, what he naturally tended to stress was its preëminent rôle in European and American history. He was not concerned to use the Bible for exhortation, but he was tremendously impressed with the influence of the Bible in molding the background of the modern world. At the time that was a new thought to me, and what I would like to emphasize here is that the predominant place of the Bible in the Scheide Library is testimony not so much to the piety as to the reading and interpretation of history by its founders. This applies not only to the Bibles themselves, extending as they do from the third-century *Ezekiel* papyri and the Wyclif medieval manuscripts of both the complete

Bible and the New Testament, the great incunabula and sixteenth-century English editions to the present, but also to the religious tracts derived from the Bible, such as the fourteenth-century manuscript of *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, the Savonarola, Luther and Calvin tracts, the great copy of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and many New World sermons. My favorite in this last category is one headed: "The Doleful State of the Damned, especially such as go to Hell from under the Gospel." With no diminution of energy the title concludes with a thought from Paul: "Wrath is come upon them to the UTTERMOST." I am sure we would all troop back to church again in a body if this shameless, earthy strength were trumpeted again from our pulpits.

To return from Paul to John and in particular to our own text, we may recall that it concludes with the words: "and the truth shall make you free." And here I shall brazenly descend from metaphysical heights to the cheapest chauvinism. After printing, through which people get to know and learn about things; after the Bible, which European civilization has officially regarded as the truth, the third predominant field in the Scheide Library is Americana. "To all the friends of American liberty"—so runs the heading of the *Lexington Alarm*, that first account of the opening of the Revolutionary War of which I believe the Scheide Library possesses the earliest known copy. Indeed the Library's interest in the land of the free is of so provincial a character that I am particularly happy to be talking about it in Philadelphia (or at least in the Keystone State), since the shape of our family bookplate is a keystone. I would say that the last two significant additions that my father made to the library were in this field. One was the Williamsburg edition of George Washington's *Journal* in which he narrates his trip into western Pennsylvania where the library is now located. The other is not obviously Americana at all. It is the Blickling Homilies manuscript, dating from certainly no later than the eleventh century. I am convinced

that the impulse to acquire this book came from my father's interest in Americana. Here was a unique milestone in Anglo-American culture. Here was an outstanding specimen of proto-English, giving opportunity to penetrate farther into the ancestry of our language than could be done anywhere else in the western hemisphere. My father had a typically modest but very real pride in this fact, quite justifiable in my opinion. He bought an Anglo-Saxon grammar and was settling down to a long-term attack on the manuscript when death intervened.

Another medieval English book which owes its presence in the Scheide Library to similar reasons is the legal manuscript of about 1305 which contains texts of many English laws, most famous of which is the *Magna Carta*. Apparently this is one of the earliest texts of *Magna Carta* in this country. At any rate this volume and the *Lexington Alarm* were the Library's contributions to the Freedom Train exhibit some eight or nine years ago.

With incunabula and other press books, Bibles and Americana the major categories of the Scheide Library are exhausted. This was deliberate. The reasoning is that however significant great literature, for example, might be (or however much you might like it) it never reaches the masses affected by such events as Gutenberg's discovery, Columbus's voyage or Luther's protest. In comparison, art is an eclectic and aristocratic activity. Accordingly a library founded on the principles discussed above would not stress *belles lettres*. Even some items that could be classed as literature were not so considered by my father. For example, he regarded the Blickling Homilies from a philological rather than a literary point of view, and his first edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as an anti-slavery tract rather than a novel. The great copy of *The Pilgrim's Progress* gains further significance (as though it needed any) by being in a Bible and religious tract collection. Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe, Browning and Arnold practically exhaust the literary men. To them might be added musical auto-

graphs of Beethoven and Wagner, to which I have contributed one of Bach.

The paucity of scientific works can be explained by pointing out that until the nineteenth century very few results of scientific thinking and discovery had touched the common man. It is significant that almost the only one that did, the Copernican-Galileo cosmological theory, is represented in the collection. I think that my father regarded most of the achievements of science as too recent to gain a true perspective upon them and to be able to pick out the true cornerstones, although he made several attempts.

I return to the idea of collecting books that the collector cannot and does not expect to read, a notion which may seem idiotic to some people. But I turn and say: "This whole thing is a touchstone of your love of books." One of William Blake's *Proverbs of Hell* reads: "The roaring of lions, the howling of wolves, the raging of the stormy sea, and the destructive sword, are portions of eternity, too great for the eye of man"—that is, these things held for him a religious, even a numinous fascination and he imputed to them religious values. I am sure he would have said something analogous in regard to the ferment caused by the printed word in human history. What a power it has had, what masses it has moved, is moving and will go on moving as long as mankind lasts! Surely there is something awesome in this spectacle which far transcends any single paltry book. All one has to do is to acquire the ability and inclination to contemplate it. "He who has ears to hear, let him hear." And this is where the "book collector," in the pure sense in which my father used the term, may be of help. For if one holds in his hand a small volume printed in old type he can hardly read, in a language he cannot understand, by an author he has never heard of and perhaps never expects to hear of, he may yet be overcome with a singularly profound emotion. He may consider that the printing of that book helped to launch the social experience which has enabled

the printed word to work on untold masses of humanity, to stimulate them to new thoughts and acts of which they never dreamed.

Occasionally when glancing through our copy of the Eliot Indian Bible I have thought: "What a job for a proofreader!" It appears as though the average word was twenty-five letters long. For all I know, the proofreading in that book may be abominable. Perhaps for that reason alone no Indian could read it. Yet I cannot think that Mr. Eliot, after all the effort of preparing the manuscript, could afford to let his great undertaking be sacrificed in such a manner. But then I thought that if it *was* proofread,[1] what an exercise in discipline and what an experience that must have been. Any later book would have been as nothing in comparison. The printers of that book really learned something about their craft, and the press of New England was a much better institution as a result. Thus the tremendous significance of the Eliot Indian Bible to American history has no relevance as to whether it converted a single Indian. If people could print the Eliot Indian Bible they would be ready for anything. No publishing venture would be too complex for them or too audacious in conception.

Thus, in an incunabule the content need not be important. What is eternally important in such a book is that all subsequent bookmakers and printers have learned their craft in unbroken tradition from the men who printed it. Here is where it started, here is where printed books had their beginnings. Does printing serve enough purposes in your life to justify itself to you *sui generis?* Then you should be interested in it, and in particular in its beginnings as found in the early printed books. This interest need have no relation to the content of those books. If you should collect them you would become a "book collector" in the sense that I believe my father used the term. Moreover, if you collect

[1] "Of course the work had to be done on the Cambridge Press—the only press in the English Colonies until 1674—so that Eliot could superintend the typesetting and read the proof." Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), p. 312. *Editor.*

incunabula you may solace yourself with the thought that if there had been no fifteenth-century typography there would be no other printed books at all and therefore no other printed-book collecting of any kind.

Speaking for the Scheide Library, I might add that there is in it not only awe for the power of the printed word but faith that this power and the ferment stirred up by its exercise has on the whole been a good thing. There is faith that "ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." At the risk of oversimplification, one may say that these ideas lie behind the Biblical and Americana interests respectively. Since we are dealing with faith we may expect more arbitrary and irrational statements, but in regard to the Bible I would say that my father's and grandfather's idea was that the Bible represented the civilizing instinct of western man, that cultures rose and fell with the fortunes of this book, and that a collection of Biblical editions would be a kind of barometer of what was ultimately most important in every age. The first age covered by this survey would be when the Biblical spirit, released through an ecclesiastical organization, guarded and kept alive every legacy of culture in an era sunk in barbarity and ignorance. The second period would be when this same Biblical spirit, working now through the printing press directly upon the hordes of common people, provided the spiritual dynamic for the bourgeois upsurge in the Anglo-Saxon world over the last four or five centuries.

Thus the Bible is the spiritual vertebra in the Scheide Library, the solid backbone. I suppose that if there is anything wrong with the library it may be that there is too much backbone and too little else. But the principal mass of flesh and blood to be placed upon it is the Americana collection, for in this setting the recorded deeds and thoughts of some of our founding fathers take on a dignity and even an exaltation that are peculiarly moving. Is it irrelevant that in this library the original draft of Grant's magnanimous surrender terms to Lee rests near the first translation

of the Bible into any kind of English? I am sentimental enough to think it is *not* irrelevant. Such items complement each other; each is raised to a higher power by the other's presence. This is because the presence of each has not come about by chance. Both were acquired by the same purposeful instinct which it has been my endeavor to elucidate for you.

No one in our family has ever had much inclination toward philosophy. My grandfather wasted no words in once referring to it as "wretched rot." But I suspect that a dangerous dialectic might be developed in time if one wished to juxtapose indefinitely this love of unrestricted winds of doctrine and the parochial pride that passes for patriotism. For, in the unchecked flow of ideas, that which is loved may be lost and that which is hated may become paramount. Such is the risk taken by any lover of freedom. I think that my grandfather had a door open for escape on this point. Patriotism in 1876 was to him a "barbaric virtue"; in the 1890's it was a "heathenish virtue." But Abraham Lincoln possessed patriotism "of the old, heroic type." So perhaps when the Bible-collecting Scheides began buying Americana because of their patriotism they became in their own eyes barbarians and heathen. Nevertheless, I am proud to be one of them, and even have the conceit to wonder if their virtue may not have been "of the old, heroic type."

The Year After Franklin's Year*

By Edwin Wolf, 2nd

THE guests have left; the living room is stale with smoke; cigarette stubs fill the ash trays and the tired remains of drinks festoon the tables. The party is over. This is the year after Franklin's year, for nothing resembles such a scene more than the year after an anniversary celebration.

Benjamin Franklin was born two hundred and fifty years ago the January before last, and for the best part of a year his memory was subjected to a high-pressure, gray-flannel-suited treatment. The American Newspaper Publishers Association resolved that Franklin should be honored for his "ideals of freedom of expression." The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, believing in "the free exchange of ideas between peoples," formally laid a verbal wreath on his grave. The Boy Scouts of America sent a Franklinia tree to be planted on the atom-scarred grounds of Hiroshima University. The Delaware River Bridge was renamed the Benjamin Franklin Bridge. The Post Office issued an anniversary stamp.

All to the good, we say, for Franklin was a great man, a typical product of dynamic, aggressive America, a success in every field into which he ventured. And these were legion—printing, science, insurance, publishing, government, diplomacy, education, soap-making, stove-making, music and, not least, gallantry. He was quoted on every subject that the agile brain of a Madison Avenue or Washington Square ad-man could twist into applicability. "You can follow B. Franklin's creed of sensible spending and systematic saving with S. & H. Green Stamps."

Yes, all to the good, for Franklin represented the legendary,

* Read at the meeting of the Society in Philadelphia, May 17, 1957.

homespun virtues of our country's Puritan background, which, projected on the international scene, gave evidence of Yankee ingenuity and Yankee achievement. To the overcultivated world of Europe Franklin was the symbol of the noble savage —ostentatious in his Quaker garb and coonskin hat against the rustling silks and flashing diamonds of the Court of France; the noble savage, who had tamed lightning, overthrown the rule of kings, and—to the amazement of all who met him—had knowledge of and interest in an encyclopaedic number of things, and with it all, had charm, wit, and graciousness.

Yet, with such a rich subject for commemoration, what are the memories of the party held in his honor? Alas, in spite of the brave attempts of a number of scholars who tried to keep Franklin in perspective and moderate the prevailing tone, he emerged basically—as indeed one article published by a public relations consultant was entitled—as "Franklin, the Businessman, First Great Apostle of Free and Competitive Economy on the American Scene." This is the Franklin rum which was served to us in such generous rations that the party has left us with a hangover.

Under Franklin's auspices, a great electrical equipment company asked the college boy, "Why Study Math?" "Why Study Science?" "Why Study Engineering?" and among the headings in answer to the questions are, "There's Math in Every Job," "Tools of War are Complicated," "Engineering: Opportunity Unlimited." Two paragraphs nod to an ability to write English (probably the single greatest asset of Franklin's whole career) and to the study of languages and the social sciences "when scheduling permits." In grateful memory of Franklin a large oil company asked much in the same vein, "Should Your Child Choose a Career in Science?" The answer was our country's need in the face of Russian scientific advances, buttressed by the fact that the financial opportunities are excellent.

As the "Patron Saint of Advertising," Franklin's introduction of pippin apples into England was hailed as starting "the trend

that made this country the world's largest producer of apples." Franklin's change of direction after the violent opposition to the Stamp Act became known to him, and his subsequent brilliant campaign to get it repealed, apparently caused publishing and advertising to flourish in this country as nowhere else on earth. Yet nothing more striking was said to his spectre than the tribute of a member of the Philadelphia Club of Advertising Women, who ended an article with these sonorous words, "Benjamin Franklin—We, The Women of the World, salute you in 1956! YOU WERE RIGHT ABOUT WOMEN!"

One is inclined to wonder what these slogan-makers had read about Franklin. Had they any idea about the scope or the making of the man? He was far from a creature of rags, tags, and bobtails. Did the lady advertising expert know that Franklin in a detailed study of the aging processes of a woman maintained that by covering her head with a basket one could not tell a young woman from an old one? Did she include that statement among Franklin's verities about women?

In pointing out the achievements of the sage of Philadelphia as the supporter of voluntarism in public and humanitarian affairs—always used to put Franklin on the side of capitalism against governmental subsidy—his organization of the Philadelphia Associators, the first militia company, and the Pennsylvania Hospital are given as prime examples. Yet the facts are that Franklin only got his militia company together because he could not get money for that purpose from the Assembly (although he tried hard), and that the Hospital was the first state-subsidized institution in Pennsylvania, its building made possible by a grant from the Assembly matching that of the private subscribers. Did the drum-beaters of his rôle as the "Apostle of Thrift" realize that his first entry into the field of political propaganda was to urge the inflationary issuance of paper money? In truth, Franklin is too big for bill-posters.

He had a flexibility of views that defies categories, and like

the Elephant's Child he had insatiable curiosity. Franklin is the sum total of what Toynbee calls Challenge and Response. He is not "Quotable Quotes for Speeches, Articles, Posters, Advertisements, etc." He is not only—and not chiefly—the businessman-salesman-promoter whom a Long Island bank named after him honored with an exhibition showing, *inter alia*, a collection of Penny Banks and "an old spearhead taken off the top of the fence surrounding Benjamin Franklin's Grave."

Throughout the celebration the emphasis has been on the ends, not the means—what Franklin accomplished, not how he was able to accomplish those things. How did he become a scientist; why was he a successful businessman; why did nearly everybody read his *Pennsylvania Gazette*; how did he make friends and influence people? I submit that it was because Franklin had imagination, and that his imagination was the result of a comprehensive, liberal self-education.

His education was, to be sure, informal, as was that of most men in his virtually schoolless century, but it was a conscious self-education, conducted with discipline and catholicity, and continued throughout his whole long life. His autobiography is not so much a success story as the story of a man who learned, in spite of the summary in Larson's *Guide to Business History*: "A remarkably detailed and candid account by a petty capitalist in business around the middle of the 18th century."

If we look at Franklin's long list of achievements we are struck first by the amount of reading he did, and the degree to which he himself attributed those achievements to what he read. He taught himself how to write lucid prose by studying the essays of Addison and Steele in the *Spectator*. He taught himself how to think logically by studying the Abbé Nicole's *Art of Thinking*, and how to argue most effectively by reading a life of Socrates. He taught himself mathematics from popular handbooks. He formed his basic humanitarian views on Mather's *Essay upon the Good*. He got a number of his social and business

ideas from Defoe's *Essay upon Projects*. And from John Locke he derived much of his political thinking. He learned the essentials of Latin, French, Italian, and German by actual reading, presumably working out translations with the help of an English text, grammars and dictionaries. By the time he died Franklin had amassed one of the largest private libraries in the country.

Here then is one element of Franklin's success—one of the first rungs up Poor Richard's ladder—one which I submit was little emphasized during the past year. The budding scientists were not told that if they want to be technicians with imagination, something more than well-trained cogs in an industrial machine, they would do well, as Franklin did, to read omnivorously. It is against this broad background of self-attained knowledge that Franklin becomes a person rather than a phenomenon. And if further proof of his conviction of the importance of self-education is needed, his first two projects underline it. Before he founded an insurance company, before he felt the need for a hospital, before he became active in politics, and before he made his first electrical experiments, he organized a discussion group —the Junto—so that he and his friends could learn from each other and learn how to present their knowledge to each other, and he organized a library to provide the necessary book resources for such discussions.

It is significant that he occupied himself with these enterprises at the beginning of his own business career. That career as printer, publisher, and bookseller lasted only twenty years. And, at the end of that time, Franklin decided that he had made a competence; not a fortune by any means, but enough to enable himself to do more than make more money. In 1748 Franklin wrote his letter of *Advice to a Young Tradesman* which is the epitome of his business success, and may be summed up in the two words: industry and frugality. This is what much has been made of in the past year. But it has been overlooked that this was Franklin's valedictory to the world of trade. In the year 1748

Franklin took in David Hall as his partner in the printing business, and thereafter he devoted less time to business affairs and more to interests where he could give free play to his energetic imagination. Industry meant more to Franklin than making money. In fact, he was un-American in a modern sense; he lacked acquisitiveness. He was in no sense a typical American businessman.

So, we find a semi-retired Franklin during the year 1749 launched on his electrical experiments, experiments which, it must be emphasized, were not initially carried out for pragmatic reasons. Franklin was not looking for something that electricity would do; he wanted to find out all he could about the qualities of that still mysterious form of energy. His greatest contribution was not the lightning rod—merely a by-product of his experimentation—but the single fluid theory of electricity which envisioned for the first time a positive and a negative state of the flow. To explain himself he invented terms to describe his findings, and it is to Franklin that we owe some of present-day, accepted scientific terminology. Here was not a trained technician; here was a man whose capabilities, derived from his general education—for Franklin had by then read but little of the technical literature of the day—enabled him to propound a general theory of pure rather than practical science.

In the same year 1749, during which Franklin was writing intensively on electricity, he was browsing with equal interest and equal insight in other fields. Franklin had far from a single-track mind. He was concerned with the purchase of books for sale and for the Library Company. He philosophized with the evangelist George Whitefield on the subject of influencing mankind for good. He attended a treaty with the Indians. He wrote to the agriculturist Jared Eliot concerning his experiences in planting different kinds of grass. And he wrote his *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, which was so convincing a statement of needs that, as you all know, there was

founded the Academy of Philadelphia, later to become the University of Pennsylvania.

It is worth noting that Franklin did not write from the top of his head. His pamphlet on education contains an impressive bibliography, and a note cites the "Authors quoted in the Paper," who include Milton, Locke, Hutcheson, Walker, Rollin, and Turnbull, "with some others," as he adds. Franklin's preamble is as applicable today as it was over two centuries ago.

> The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths. Almost all Governments have therefore made it a principal Object of their Attention, to establish and endow with proper Revenues, such Seminaries of Learning, as might supply the succeeding Age with Men qualified to serve the Publick with Honour to themselves, and to their Country.
>
> Many of the first Settlers of these Provinces were Men who had received a good Education in Europe, and to their Wisdom and good Management we owe much of our present Prosperity. But their Hands were full, and they could not do all Things. The present Race are not thought to be generally of equal Ability: For though the American Youth are allow'd not to want Capacity; yet the best Capacities require Cultivation, it being truly with them, as with the best Ground, which unless well tilled and sowed with profitable Seed, produces only ranker Weeds.
>
> That we may obtain the Advantages arising from an Increase of Knowledge, and prevent as much as may be the mischievous Consequences that would attend a general Ignorance among us, the following Hints are offered towards forming a Plan for the Education of the Youth of Pennsylvania.

And then Franklin set forth the kind of curriculum that would make the kind of men he hoped to see America produce. "It would be well," he wrote, "if they could be taught every Thing that is useful, and every Thing that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos'd that they learn those Things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental." It is significant that Franklin in his intelligent fashion did not suggest that the purely cultural should be sub-

ordinated to the purely useful. For Franklin, both realms had parity.

He emphasized English, reading, writing, and speaking, and at the end of his life severely criticized the management of the University for having neglected this essential study. History was only less important, for Franklin believed that from it came an understanding of the present, experience, perspective and judgment. Among the studies he included Philosophy (which he called "Morality"), Mathematics, Natural History (which included most of the sciences), Economics (which he called the "History of Commerce") and, as practical studies, Agriculture and Mechanics. To these he added, seeking to produce the rounded man, Drawing, Athletics and Languages—Latin and Greek for those boys planning to enter the ministry; Latin, Greek and French for the scientists; Latin and French for the would-be lawyers; and French, German and Spanish for those commercially inclined. He was striving for a balanced liberal arts education. He desired for the youth of Pennsylvania what he had found out for himself was the most valuable foundation upon which to build.

The great idea that Franklin has for our age is himself. And that, too, is the side of American civilization that most needs publicity throughout the world. Franklin writing on inoculation against smallpox, making bifocal lenses, perfecting and playing the curious musical instrument called the Armonica, amusing himself and a large circle of friends with the witty bagatelles which he printed on a little press of his own at Passy, observing the pioneer balloon ascensions, negotiating international loans and treaties, and buying and reading books, was the most popular American ever to visit Europe. A Frenchman dubbed him the first civilized American. It is this Franklin that we should extol, a civilized man, a cultured man, one to whom no field of human knowledge was alien, and remember that that included ornamental as well as practical knowledge.

A critic has recently written: "When Mill and Marx looked at a handful of workingmen making their slow firm way through the pages of Shelley or Herbert Spencer or *The Origin of Species*, they thought with confident longing, just as Jefferson and Lincoln had, of the days when every man would be literate, when an actual democracy would make its choices with as much wisdom as any imaginary state where the philosopher is king; and no gleam of prophetic insight came to show them those workingmen, two million strong, making their easy and pleasant way through the pages of the New York *Daily News*." Add watching television without effort, and this may be a realistic view of the culture of the United States, but it is a pessimistic one. Franklin would have shared Jefferson's belief in the benefits of an educated citizenry, and he was never a pessimist. The tone of Franklin's two hundred and fiftieth birthday celebration to the contrary, there are indications that businessmen—not necessarily their professional spokesmen—have learned the lesson Franklin's career teaches. More corporations are pouring more money into more education for more people than at any time in our history. And there are signs, too, that they recognize that a liberal education—as opposed to a strictly technical one—is necessary for imaginative leadership in government, industry and commerce. Our future may well lie not in Franklin as the apostle of thrift or the spokesman of capitalism, but in Franklin as the civilized American, who, commenting on his organization of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the spread of subscription libraries throughout the colonies, added: "These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges."

Bibliographical Notes

A Note on GW 5231

The second edition of the Premonstratensian Breviary was printed, according to the evidence of the type, by Johann Grüninger at Strassburg; it is dated 1490. A bibliographical description was given by the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* under its number 5231, five incomplete copies being listed there. Indeed, for the summer part of the Proprium de tempore and the Proprium de sanctis, only the first sixteen leaves (A-B^8, containing the Ordinarium or Rubrica generalis) were known to the GW; these are the leaves, printed on vellum, which are now in the British Museum (IA. 1412).

The Pierpont Morgan Library[1] contains the remaining leaves (also printed on vellum) of this section.[2] The collation for this portion reads: C-X^8 AA-BB^8 CC^6, making a total of 190 leaves for this section of the Breviary. The Morgan volume contains the following text:

Contents: C1aα — Proprium de tempore (Trin. — Sabbat. post Dom. XXV post Trin.); K8aα — Officium dedicationis ecclesiae; L4aα — Proprium de sanctis (S. Petronillae [May 31] — S. Eligii [Dec. 1]); BB6bα — Suffragia (for use of monastery of Adelberg); BB7bβ — Hymnarius.

The description of GW 5231.3 may therefore be completed as follows: . . . *Endet Bl. 189* a β Z. 5: . . . vna || patri filioqꝫ inclito paraclyto || cui laus est & potestas ꝑ eter-||na secula. Amen. || [*rot*] Finit hymnarius || *Bl. 189 b u. Bl. 190, leer.*

According to details most kindly supplied by George D. Painter and Dennis E. Rhodes of the British Museum,[3] it seems quite certain that

[1] Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühler, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1939), no. 127. The Stillwell *Census* (B1018) is mistaken in calling the Morgan copy a "variant," since it is the only recorded copy containing these leaves.

[2] The Victoria and Albert Museum owns a copy of the Psalter (part 1 of the Breviary) also printed on vellum, which may once have formed part of this copy.

[3] The GW entry may also be corrected, since I am informed that the text ending "dicenda est" is found on folio 15 verso, not recto.

the BM and PML portions originally formed one volume.[4] The parts had already become separated over a century ago, since the Museum bought its fragment in April, 1848. It had formerly been in the possession of William Maskell, the eminent liturgist.[5]

An attempt was made, as unsuccessful as usual, to make the Morgan copy appear to be a complete volume of this section of the Premonstratensian Breviary. The first leaf (signature C1) contains the Office for Trinity Sunday, the first of the Proprium de tempore; this page has a four-side border, illuminated in gold and colors,[6] which completely obscures the signature mark. However, the signatures on C2, C3, C4, D1, D2, and D3 have been scratched out; the folio numbers proper to these leaves have been similarly removed. After D4 (folio LXXXII) all the leaves preserve the signatures and foliation where necessary and appropriate. It is clear that the erasures were made with the intent to deceive a possible purchaser.

Ten leaves of vellum are inserted at the end of the volume. On folio 1, we find written in an early hand the heading: "Festum Sancti fiacry confessoris penultima die augusti celebratur" and the (manuscript) text continues to the top of f. 8[a]. The remainder of this page contains the "Antiphona de Sancto meyno Confessore." The first text is the Office for the Feast of St. Fiacre, which occurs on August 30th. St. Fiacre was an Irish Saint of the seventh century, who finally settled—and was subsequently specially venerated—at the monastery of St.-Fiacre-en-Brie, near Breuil, France. Meynus seems to be a latinization of Mein, a Saint (venerated June 21st) who is also known as Meen, Maine, Majanus, Mavennus, Mevenus, etc. He was born in Wales (or Cornwall) about the year 540 and accompanied St. Samson into France. He became the first abbot of St.-Méen-de-Gaël in Brittany and died, at a great age, in 617.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

[4] The red velvet binding (over wooden boards) of the British Museum fragment is of uncertain age and therefore provides no information. The Morgan portion is in a very recent binding.

[5] Compare the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXVI, 413-414.

[6] According to the information supplied by Mr. Rhodes, the margins of A2 in the British Museum fragment are similarly illuminated. [Since this note went to press, the writer was able to inspect the British Museum fragment. This examination confirmed the belief that the two fragments once formed a single volume].

The Rowley Myth in Eighteenth-Century Germany

If books are said to have their fates, this is especially true of literary forgeries and particularly of those two most conspicuous literary hoaxes of eighteenth-century European literature: Macpherson's *Ossian* and Thomas Chatterton's poems, which he asserted had been composed in the fifteenth century by a monk named Rowley in a Bristol monastery. Knowledge of both these forgeries did not remain restricted to England, but spread to the continent and caused a sensation there as well. This is not at all surprising in view of the growing historical awareness and the rising medieval trend in the complex literary phenomenon known as Pre-Romanticism.[1] Thanks to many detailed investigations, we know today the history of the reception of *Ossian* on the continent and particularly in Germany where the national literature took shape under a marked English influence in the eighteenth century.[2] On the other hand, nothing is known as yet about the repercussion of Chatterton's dashing forgeries on the German literary scene.[3]

While in England the controversy about the authenticity of the Rowley poems was already in full swing during Chatterton's lifetime (he died in 1770 at the age of seventeen), there is no evidence that the young poet was known in Germany before 1777 when Thomas Tyrwhitt put out the *Poems, supposed to have been written at Bristol, by Thomas Rowley, and others, in the fifteenth century; the greatest part now first published from the most authentic copies* . . . This book aroused immediate interest in Germany. An anonymous reviewer in the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* lauded it as one of the greatest literary rarities and agreed with the editor that the poems had most probably been written in the fifteenth century: "Sind diese Gedichte wirkliche Produkte des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts, wie es nach den kritischen Beweisen, die hier beygebracht werden, höchstwahrscheinlich ist, so ist es eine der gröβten litterarischen Seltenheiten und ein Beweis, daβ das Sylbenmaaβ und die Verfeinerung der poetischen Melodie, den ersten Stiftern der englischen

[1] For a comprehensive treatment of that period see Paul van Tieghem, *Le Romanticism dans la littérature européenne* (Paris, 1948); on medievalism see esp. pp. 79-98.

[2] Cp. L. M. Price, *English Literature in Germany* (Berkeley, 1953), pp. 122-136, with an extensive bibliography.

[3] Price's work does not mention Chatterton's name. It brings together all previous research in the field of Anglo-German literary relations.

Poesie, schon zugehörte. Auch die Gedichte verdienen dem Inhalte nach Aufmerksamkeit."[4]

However, still in the same year (1777) the *Poems* received a more thorough enthusiastic commendation by Johann Joachim Eschenburg; and this must have carried much more weight, for Eschenburg, widely known as a commentator, translator, and editor of English literature, was one of the best German authorities on English literary history in the last third of the eighteenth century. In his *Brittisches Museum*, a magazine dedicated to the introduction of English literature into Germany, he had this to say about Chatterton's volume of poetry: "Die Sammlung dieser Gedichte ist eine der merkwürdigsten Erscheinungen in der poetischen Litteratur. Ihr Verdienst wäre so groß gar nicht, wenn sie erdichtet und itzt erst verfertigt seyn sollten; sind sie aber ächt, und wirklich aus dem funfzehnten Jahrhundert, so muß man erstaunen, daß schon damals so viel Schönheit und Harmonie des Verses, so viel Annehmlichkeit der poetischen Schreibart in England möglich war."[5] He then went on to paraphrase the remarks of the English editor on the discovery of the manuscripts of this "strangest phenomenon in poetic literature" (Eschenburg) as well as on the disputed authorship of "Rowley." In addition to that, however, Eschenburg had investigated the problem of authenticity independently, and studied an article in the May issue of the *Monthly Review* (1777)[6] containing some first-hand information from a "Dr. Thomas Smith."[7] Both these sources concurred in the contention that the poems are of genuinely medieval origin. But Eschenburg also took into consideration three articles published in the May, June and July issues of the *Gentlemen's Magazine*[8] which pointed out that incompatibility of certain historical facts, linguistic features and the elegant literary finish of the poetry would speak against the assumption of a fifteenth-century author. Still, Eschenburg did not accept the charge of forgery but set forth a compromising hypothesis which is not quite unique in the Rowley controversy: "Ohne Zweifel urtheilt man am sichersten und billigsten, wenn man, mit den gedachten Reviewers, diese Gedichte für wirkliche Origi-

[4] XX (1777), pt. 2, 344.

[5] *Brittisches Museum für die Deutschen*, ed. J. J. Eschenburg, I (Leipzig, 1777), 114.

[6] *Monthly Review*, LVI (1777), 321-328.

[7] *Britt. Mus.*, I, 117.

[8] *Gentlemen's Magazine*, (1777), 205-208, 275-278, 305-307.

nale hält, weil sich so viele äuβere und innere Gründe für diese Meynung vereinigen; aber zugleich annimmt, daβ manches darin von dem Abschreiber, Chatterton, geändert und eingeschoben ist; und dies letztere gilt wahrscheinlich nicht bloβ von einzelnen Wörtern und Redensarten, sondern von ganzen Stücken, denen er die alte Form, die ihm durch jenes Abschreiben geläufig wurde, zu geben versucht hat."[9]

This statement is followed by two samples of the Rowley poetry: "The Battle of Hastings" (121-123) and a minstrel song from the "tragical interlude" *Aella* (123-126). The latter poem which Eschenburg praised for its "Anmuth und sanfte Empfindung" (123) is translated into German in a later issue of the *Brittisches Museum* as "Hirtengespräch. Nach dem Englischen des Rowley" (228-231). Able as the rendering is, it does, however, not imitate the archaisms in Chatterton's syntax, orthography and choice of words and, therefore, fails to give an accurate impression of the original.[10]

In the course of the next year Eschenburg's attention was drawn to the postscript to the third edition of the *Poems* (1778), various magazine articles, and the second volume of Wharton's *History of English Poetry*, all of which argued against the pretended medieval origin of the poetry. Accordingly, the German critic declared himself convinced and revoked his former assertions as to the authenticity at the next possible chance.[11] Nevertheless, though he now regarded Chatterton as a forger, he still had great admiration for the talent and imaginative skill of the young poet. And in 1779, he repeated his judgment,[12] but still printed "Narva and Mored, an African Eclogue by Thomas Chatterton" and an "Elegy by the Same," both taken from the *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse by Thomas Chatterton, the supposed author of the poems published under the name of Rowley, Canning, etc.* (1779).[13]

In England, the question of authorship continued to be debated with fierce arguments from both sides long after this date and, in fact, the controversy did not end until the nineteenth century. It is now interesting to note that in Germany on the other hand all further discussion of the hoax was apparently silenced by J. J. Eschenburg's weighty verdict. Thus, in 1794, while the dispute was still raging in Britain, the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* regarded the argumentation as a matter of the

[9] *Britt. Mus.*, I, 120.

[10] The original is in *Poems* (1777), pp. 76 ff.

[11] *Britt. Mus.*, III (1778), 309 f.

[12] *Britt. Mus.*, IV (1779), 266 f.

[13] *Britt. Mus.*, IV, 369-374.

past, mentioning casually that "der bekannte Chatterton" was generally notorious in Germany as a literary impostor of the first rank.[14] So did Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten in 1800 in his *Brittisches Odeon, oder Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben und den Schriften der neuesten brittischen Dichter* where he published translations of no less than fifteen original poems by Chatterton.[15] These include the works to which Eschenburg had called attention earlier. Though the language is modernized again, this publication is by far the greatest service done for the introduction of Thomas Chatterton into eighteenth-century Germany. It did, naturally, not fail to make a deep impression on J. G. Herder, who, reviewing the *Brittisches Odeon* in 1800, devoted his special attention to Chatterton. While he, too, took it for granted that the problem of authenticity had been definitely solved, he introduced a new note: for his main interest was in the life of the poet which he called "ein trauriger Roman," and "eine sehr denkwürdige Lection für die Menschheit." For him Chatterton was a tragic genius.[16] Thus he led the way to the profoundly tragic conception of the young, unfortunate poet which was later to emerge in Ernst Penzoldt's novel *Der Arme Chatterton, Geschichte eines Wunderkindes* (1928) and in Hans Henny Jahnn's drama *Thomas Chatterton, eine Tragödie* (1955).

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A Rare Copy of John Stedman's "Laelius and Hortensia"

In the Houghton Library at Harvard there is a book which is lettered on the outside binding: *Melmoth on taste and genius.* On the title page is printed: *Laelius and Hortensia, or Thoughts on the nature and objects of taste and genius, in a series of letters to two friends.* Edinburgh: Printed for J. Bal-

[14] LII (1794), pt. 2, 299.

[15] They are "Schlacht bei Hastings," a fragment from the tragedy *Godwin*, "Gesang an Aella," "Ode über die Barmherzigkeit," "Afrikanische Eklogen," "Drei Eklogen," "Eleonore und Juga," "Die Jagd. Ballade der Minstrels" (this was translated by Kosegarten's friend Karl Lappe), "Lied der Minstrels," "Eine wunderschöne Ballade über die Barmherzigkeit. Geschrieben von dem frommen Priester Rowley," and "Gesang des Minstrels aus dem Trauerspiel *Aella.*" The only other publication of translations or originals of Chatterton that I have been able to find in my search of magazines, anthologies and the like are "Narva and Mored" and the "Elegy": "Joyless seek the solitary shade." Both appeared in Joseph Retzer's *Choice of the Best Poetical Pieces of the Most Eminent English Poets,* V (Vienna, 1786), 238-242.

[16] *Herders Sämmtliche Werke,* ed. Berhard Suphan, XX (Berlin, 1880), 353-354.

four; and T. Cadell, London, 1782. While no author is mentioned on the title page, this work has been attributed to Dr. John Stedman.[1] The only information to dispute this authorship appears to be the Harvard copy.

Inserted in the Harvard *Laelius and Hortensia* is a letter from William Melmoth to a Mr. Tharpe in London. Tharpe, who is obviously a business man, is requested to send his bill to Melmoth. This epistle, dated July 25, 1785, is obviously quite genuine, even though it is of little importance for Melmoth's biography.

In addition to the letter, a picture of William Melmoth is pasted to one of the front pages of the Harvard copy. This portrait, however, is not of William Melmoth, the younger (1710-1799), but of his father, the elder William Melmoth (1666-1743). Originally this picture of the senior Melmoth appeared opposite page 403 in the December 1, 1810, issue of *The European Magazine*.[2] The owner of the Harvard *Laelius* took this portrait of the elder Melmoth from the magazine and pasted it in the volume which he incorrectly attributed to Melmoth. Knowing that the letter inserted in the book was by Melmoth, he apparently thought that portrait in *The European Magazine* was of the same man. Under the picture and name of William Melmoth, the magazine had printed, "Formerly one of the Senior Benchers of the Hon. Society of Lincolns [*sic*] Inn." The younger Melmoth never held this position, while his father did. Also, we know that no portrait of the younger Melmoth exists.[3]

In attempting to determine why the unknown owner of the Harvard *Laelius* believed that William Melmoth the younger was the author, one would naturally turn to the ideas expressed in this volume to ascertain if they would be congenial to Melmoth. No definite conclusions, however, can be reached in this connection because the ideas in Stedman's book are eighteenth-century commonplaces and indicate the climate of opinion at that time. Logically, then, these ideas could be held by Melmoth.

In two sections of *Laelius and Hortensia* there are references to the younger Melmoth. On page 342 the author remarks to Hortensia that he knows she has read Melmoth's translations of Pliny and Cicero. Again, on page 453 Stedman mentions that Fitzosborne [a pseudonym used by

[1] *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, ed. S. Austin Allibone (Philadelphia, 1871-1878), II, 2231; *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, ed. S. Halkett, J. Laing, J. Kennedy, W. A. Smith, A. F. Johnson (Edinburgh, 1926-1934), III, 232.

[2] Volume LVIII.

[3] *Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne on Several Subjects* (London, 1820), p. iv, and Letter 2.

Melmoth] asserts that some of Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* is superior to the original text. Both of these references to Melmoth, however, prove nothing of a definite nature. While they seem to indicate that Melmoth was not the author, they could be used by a clever writer to conceal his identity. When one remembers some of the publishing escapades common in the eighteenth century, for example that of Pope's *Dunciad*, one can never discount such a possibility. It is conceivable that the owner of the Harvard *Laelius* felt Melmoth was deliberately attempting to hide his authorship by quoting from his own work as another critic might.

In *Laelius and Hortensia* the frequent eighteenth-century device of writing essays under the form of epistolary correspondence is followed. The pseudonymity was employed principally to give the author more freedom of expression. Melmoth had used this device in his own *Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne on Several Subjects*, which was originally published anonymously but which eventually came to be known as his own work. One important difference between the Stedman and Melmoth letters occurs, however, in regard to technique.

In the *Fitzosborne Letters* the letters are letters, and even where they are used as a disguise for Melmoth to pontificate or propound serious ideas, the stratagem of the letter technique is retained. On the other hand, the *Laelius and Hortensia* letters are actually formal essays or treatises. They have practically no personal allusions; there are no references to current or neighborhood news events; there are few references to familiar aspects of life. Frequently, in Stedman's work there is no reason for a new letter heading; he is simply breaking up a long tract at various intervals by a letter heading. In short, he uses the epistolary device as loosely as possible.

Furthermore, Melmoth's *Fitzosborne Letters* are elegantly composed in the Addisonian middle style. There is grace and ease of movement. But the *Laelius and Hortensia* epistles are composed in a much more Latinized Johnsonian style. They are more polysyllabic and ponderous in sentence structure.

Yet if their styles and techniques are so different, why would the owner of the Harvard *Laelius* choose Melmoth as the author? A few conjectures may be made. It is simply possible, of course, that the book owner found the Melmoth letter in this volume; since the volume was anonymous, he may have associated the two. Or he may have made his inference of authorship from knowing that Melmoth wrote many of the *Fitzosborne Letters* to a man named Hortensius. In fact, Letter 33 of *Fitz-*

osborne is devoted to the wife of Hortensius, namely Hortensia, who is something of "the perfect woman nobly planned." It is not difficult to assume that the owner of the Harvard copy believed the Hortensia of Fitzosborne and the Hortensia of Stedman to be one and the same. They are both presented as charming women eager for knowledge and studious pursuits.

It is generally known that Melmoth's translations of Pliny and Cicero gave him his chief claim to fame. Even in the twentieth century his version of *Pliny's Letters* is regarded as a minor classic.[4] Fanny Burney records that Melmoth was popularly called "Pliny" Melmoth because of the excellence of his Pliny translation.[5] Melmoth also translated Cicero's "Laelius or An Essay on Friendship"; consequently, both the names Hortensia and Laelius are associated with Melmoth and could be brought to mind easily by a casual reader in the Augustan period.

We may conclude by remarking that the owner of the Harvard *Laelius and Hortensia* appears to be the only bibliophile who has attributed this work to Melmoth, even though the card catalogue at Harvard states that this book is "sometimes attributed to Melmoth." As a man of means, the owner of the Harvard *Laelius* even had the book elegantly bound in such a way so as to support his belief in Melmoth's authorship. His error in the matter of the portrait, the differences in structure and style, however, as well as our bibliographical knowledge must void his conjecture. Yet the Harvard copy of Stedman's book appears to be unique in postulating a Melmoth authorship. Any biographical discussion or account of either William Melmoth or John Stedman must certainly refer to this copy, and knowledge of this book is of importance and interest to scholars and bibliographical students of the eighteenth century.

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Burke's Authorship of the "Historical Articles" in Dodsley's "Annual Register"

At one time some of the most eminent English literary critics—William Hazlitt, Leslie Stephen, and Matthew Arnold among them—con-

[4] *The Epistles of Pliny translated by Melmoth*, ed. Clifford Moore (Boston, 1925), I, xxxi; *Pliny's Letters with an English Translation by William Melmoth*, ed. W. M. L. Hutchinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), I, v.

[5] *The Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, ed. Charlotte Barrett (London, 1904-1905), I, 295.

sidered Edmund Burke to be the greatest writer of English prose.[1] And even though Burke as a writer of prose is now neglected—perhaps because literary studies tend increasingly to deal with works of the imagination alone—Burke as an influential historical figure and, particularly, as a political philosopher is coming into his own.[2] Two events have contributed to his current popularity: the opening of his long-withheld papers (now at the Public Library of the City of Sheffield) to scholars in 1949,[3] and the increase in conservative thought resulting partially from the moral failure of the Russian revolution. But Burke scholarship lags far behind his popularity. No scholarly edition of his works exists, nor, indeed, a complete bibliography of them.

One step toward establishing such a bibliography would be the determination of those issues, or portions thereof, of the early *Annual Register* that are from Burke's pen. Professor Thomas Copeland has shown that all of the forty-one reviews which appeared from the inception of the periodical in 1758 to Burke's entry into politics in 1766 are "very probably" by Burke.[4] An even more important body of writing, the yearly Histori-

[1] Thomas W. Copeland, *Our Eminent Friend, Edmund Burke* (New Haven, 1949), p. 4.

[2] In the eight last *Philological Quarterly* yearly bibliographies (1949-1956), two books and thirty-six articles about Burke and three editions of separate works are listed. There have been two paper-back editions of the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Russell Kirk, ed. [Chicago, 1955]; T. H. D. Mahoney, ed. [New York, 1955]). An elaborate *Checklist* of all of Burke's known correspondence has appeared (T. W. Copeland and M. E. Smith [Cambridge U. Press, 1955]) as a preliminary to the forthcoming publication of the first complete *Correspondence* by the University of Chicago Press under the general editorship of T. W. Copeland. Ross J. S. Hoffman has presented many new letters in *Edmund Burke, New York Agent* (Philadelphia, 1956); others appear in P. Baratier, "Extraits du 'Note-Book' d'Edmund Burke," *Etudes Anglaises*, VIII [1955], 43-49, and G. H. Cannon, "Sir William Jones and Edmund Burke," *Modern Philology*, LIV [1956], 165-186). Biographical studies are T. H. D. Mahoney, "A Portrait and an Appraisal," *History Today*, VI (1956), 727-734; Mahoney, "Mr. Burke's Imperial Mentality and the Proposed Irish Absentee Tax of 1773," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXVII (1956), 158-166; and B. D. Sarason, "Edmund Burke's Burial Place," *Notes and Queries*, CC (1955), 69-70. Studies of Burke's thought include Louis Gottschalk, "Reflections on Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C (1956), 417-429; R. H. Powers, "Degradation of Aristocratic Dogma," *Partisan Review*, XXIV (1957), 155-159; Charles Parkin, *The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1957), favorably reviewed in *Times Literary Supplement* (London), Jan. 25, 1957.

[3] Ross J. S. Hoffman, "The Wentworth Papers of Burke, Rockingham, and Fitzwilliam," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIV (1950), 352-356.

[4] Copeland, p. 143. Copeland made the first careful study of Burke's connection

cal Articles, presents an objective connected narrative of the events of each year. They are remarkably well written and, for contemporary accounts, unusually accurate. Because of the stigma which then attached to writers for the booksellers, Burke never acknowledged his connection with the periodical. A number of his contemporaries and all his biographers have known about this connection, although, however, not until recently in so precise a way as to be able to put a finger on any particular piece and say with considerable certainty, "This is Burke's." Can the Articles be added definitely to the canon of his works?

In 1758 Burke signed an agreement with Robert Dodsley and his brother James to compile a periodical to be called the *Annual Register*, in which the leading section was devoted to a narrative of the year's domestic and foreign events. The text of this agreement survives.[5] Burke was to be paid £100 a year in two installments: £50 on or before Michaelmas of the year preceding the publication, and £50 on the date of publication, stipulated to be not later than Lady Day of the year following that covered by the volume in question. Receipts to the Dodsleys in Burke's own handwriting exist to show that he was writing and compiling the work himself under the terms of this original agreement during the first years. James Prior, Burke's best biographer, prints cuts of two such receipts for £50 each in payment for the 1761 volume.[6] Professor Copeland found in the Pierpont Morgan Library a similar receipt in partial payment for the 1762 volume;[7] and James Crossley, the antiquary, said that he had another for the 1763 volume.[8] Perhaps Crossley held the receipt which

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with the *Annual Register*: "Burke's Authorship of the Book Reviews in the *Annual Register*: 1758-1770," Yale diss., 1933; "Burke and Dodsley's *Annual Register*," *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 223-245; "Edmund Burke and the Book Reviews in Dodsley's *Annual Register*," *PMLA*, LVII (1942), 446-468; *Our Eminent Friend*, pp. 92-145. Philip Magnus, *Edmund Burke* (London, 1939), pp. 333-335, uses Copeland's information, as does D. C. Bryant, *Edmund Burke and His Literary Friends* (Wash. U. Studies, New Ser., Language and Literature, No. 9 [St. Louis, 1939]), pp. 289-297. Bertram D. Sarason takes issue with most of the conclusions of the earlier scholars in "Edmund Burke and the Editorship of Dodsley's *Annual Register*," N. Y. U. diss., 1951; "Edmund Burke and the Two *Annual Registers*," *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), 496-508. See also D. C. Bryant, "New Light on Burke," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXIX (1953), 351-352, which presents new evidence in support of Copeland, *et al.*

[5] Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley* (London, 1910), pp. 257-258.

[6] *Memoir of the Life and Character of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke* (London, 1826), I, facing p. 86.

[7] Copeland, *Our Eminent Friend*, p. 97.

[8] *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser., III, 441; noticed by Copeland, *Our Eminent Friend*, p. 97.

Burke, pressed as usual for funds, enclosed in a letter to Dodsley requesting—it seems almost certain—an early final payment for the 1763 volume:

Dear Sir

I suppose, that by this, our Work is in the press, & advances prosperously. The part immediately in my hands is in considerable forwardness, so that next week, please God I propose to send over a good part of it, executed rather more to my satisfaction than I could have flattered myself was practicable, considering what we had to go upon. I have occasion to pay some money in London pretty speedily, I beg therefore you will pay Dr. Nugent fifty pounds on my receipt, wch. you will have along with this. Be so good to remember me affectionately to yr. Brother, & believe me

Dr Sr.
Yr. most obedt. Servt. & friend
E. Burke

Dublin Feb. 9th 1764[9]

These documents indicate that Burke compiled the *Annual Register*, including the Historical Articles, from 1758 through 1763. This period of his authorship has never been contested.[10] It can be extended. An autograph receipt of Thomas English now in the Morgan Library indicates that Burke had assistance or perhaps only exercised a general editorship in compiling the 1766 volume;[11] and since, the year before this, Burke was employed as secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham in July and became a Member of Parliament in December, it is likely that he would seek assistance for the volume of that year. Another piece of evidence indicates that a change took place in the 1765 volume. Thomas English wrote in a letter to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1795: "I have conducted the Annual Register ever since the year 1765 down to the present moment, for a time wholly by myself; but, from a period prior [to 1780] . . . with the aid of occasional assistance."[12] There is also

[9] British Museum, Add. MS. 22130, fol. 10; printed in Dixon Wecter, *Edmund Burke and His Kinsmen* (U. of Colorado Studies, Ser. B., Studies in the Humanities, Vol. I, No. 1, Boulder, 1939), p. 18 n.; also in *Our Eminent Friend*, p. 97.

[10] Bertram D. Sarason, in his recent attempt (*PMLA*, 1953, pp. 496-508) to refute Copeland's contention that Burke continued an editorial connection with the *Annual Register* after 1765, does not question Burke's sole authorship of the periodical before that date.

[11] Copeland, *Our Eminent Friend*, p. 98 n. The receipt states that on Nov. 6, 1767, English received £140 "in full for writing and compiling the Annual Register for the Year 1766. . . ."

[12] Sarason, *op. cit.*, pp. 505-506.

internal evidence: a marked deterioration of the style of the Historical Article for 1765. Many of the sentences are long and tortured, with more structural paragraphs than heretofore. In contrast to the previous impartiality, the author openly displays an anti-Tory and pro-American attitude in sometimes rather intemperate language. Summaries of arguments on both sides of a controversial issue, an old but limited device of the compiler, now constitute entire chapters, and are developed for the first time entirely in generalities without concrete detail.

It is probable, then, that Burke did not write, or, at least, that he had help in writing the Historical Article for 1765. Although there are no receipts, letters, or references to prove that Burke wrote the history for the year before, there is no stylistic change to indicate that he did not, and we know that no change involving new duties had occurred in his life during the months in which he would be writing the 1764 Historical Article: late 1764 and early 1765. In fact, Burke during the second half of 1764 was casting about for new work.[13] During the next year between February, when he left the service of William Gerard Hamilton, and July, when he became Private Secretary to Rockingham, he was evidently without any regular employment. The *Register* for 1764 appeared in May. It is unlikely that he would have taken on an assistant when he himself was unemployed.

Hence, we can extend by one year the period of uncontested authorship proved by documents, and conclude that there is no reason to believe that Burke did not write the Historical Articles for the years 1758 through 1764. Between 1758 and 1762 each was headed "History of the Present War"; those beginning with 1763 were titled "History of Europe." In the first years of the *Register* the Articles averaged about sixty two-column octavo pages, varying in length from seventy-seven pages in 1758 to forty-four in the 1764 volume. The first five formed a unit in that they presented the events of the Seven Years' War, which Burke in his first volume went back three years to narrate from the beginning. Thomas Macknight saw a collection of these histories published as a separate volume in 1763 entitled *A Compleat History of the Late War, or Annual Register of its Rise, Progress, and Events in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.*[14] The year before, the Dodsleys published a collection of the Articles through 1761 entitled *The Annual Register: or the History of the Present*

[13] Hoffman, p. 314.

[14] *History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke* (London, 1858), I, 115 n. Macknight does not give the publisher. The *B. M. Cat.* does not list a copy, nor does Straus list it in his bibliography of books published by Dodsley.

War . . . &c.[15] The *Register* on the whole was a great success. A ninth edition (1795) of the 1758 volume is listed in the British Museum Catalogue.

It is, of course, possible that Burke had assistance in writing these early yearly histories, perhaps from his intimate friend William Burke. But there is no reason to believe that he did, and internal evidence of the uniformly excellent style and external evidence as presented above would seem to indicate that this body of important writing is from Burke's pen and should now be added to the bibliography of his works.

John Charles Weston, Jr.

University of Virginia

[15] *B. M. Cat.* gives Burke as the author but supplies the publishing date as 1761, which is an error, since comparison of page-totals shows the edition to contain the 1761 Historical Article first published with the *Register* in May, 1762. Straus does not list this volume.

Book Reviews

NIXON, HOWARD M. *Broxbourne Library: Styles and Designs of Bookbindings from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century.* With an Introduction by Albert Ehrman. London, Maggs Brothers, for the Broxbourne Library, 1956. x, 252 pp. Plates. 13½ x 11½ inches. 16 guineas.

The collection of bindings assembled by Mr. and Mrs. Albert Ehrman in the "Broxbourne Library" is but one manifestation of their interest in the historical development of the book as a physical object; other elements of the collection are devoted to the invention and spread of the art of printing, to the introduction of new type faces, and to the early history of publishing.

The concentration on style and design in Mr. Ehrman's selection of bindings for the library has meant the exclusion of volumes much of whose value depends on provenance, such as the royal armorial bindings, the Groliers, and the "Maiolis" that have so long been prime desiderata of collectors. Many a modest and even homely book has been welcomed to his shelves because it offered some unusual contribution to an historical survey. Mr. Ehrman's devotion to a theme has now been fittingly rewarded in this handsome volume, in which Mr. Howard M. Nixon has used the resources of the Broxbourne Library to "throw light on the history of taste and of bookbinding" from the twelfth century to the present day. That the collector has developed increasing assurance of the usefulness of his pursuit is indicated by the fact that more than half the items selected by Mr. Nixon were purchased in 1950 or later, including the famous Admont-Wilmerding Parisian Romanesque binding with which the volume opens, and the Roger Powell binding of 1954 which concludes it.

It must be emphasized that this is in no sense a catalogue of the Broxbourne Library bindings. Out of more than a thousand examples available in the collection, only 131 are reproduced and described in detail; a number of others receive passing mention or are noted in the appendices. Those who have been privileged to study Mr. Ehrman's remarkable assemblage of blind-stamped panel bindings of the sixteenth century, for example, will find them sparsely represented here. But to have allocated

more space to them would have distorted the unity and purpose of Mr. Nixon's study, and it is a credit to both collector and author that the book contains no such digressions.

With very few exceptions (such as a Geoffroy Tory "pot cassé" panel-stamped binding) the designs reproduced and described are previously unpublished. Many significant purchases from the Hoe, Schiff, Goldschmidt, and Mrs. Whitney Hoff collections are excluded because they have previously appeared in the catalogues of the former owners. And bindings very similar to those reproduced in standard reference books are also omitted. As a result, Mr. Nixon's survey has far greater value to the student of bindings than if it were simply a glorification of one man's collecting achievement.

As Assistant Keeper at the British Museum, Mr. Nixon can and does introduce the results of his researches in the great national collection, and he can also share with others the invaluable experience gained in the repair and conservation of British Museum bindings. Surely no other historian of bindings is so well equipped to describe in detail the materials and methods of sewing and forwarding, the *corps d'ouvrage* as well as the finishing, and one of the most valuable features of the ample descriptive notes is his careful analysis of technique.

Despite the diligent research of the present century, we are still the victims of vulgar errors and common superstitions in our concepts of bookbinding history. Mr. Nixon examines every popular tenet with fresh curiosity.

Some twenty years ago, Emile Dacier published his reasons for believing that the group of earliest French gold-tooled bindings, linked with the court of Louis XII, came from an atelier in Blois, where the king was normally in residence. In describing the Broxbourne example, Mr. Nixon presents cogent evidence and arguments for locating this workshop in Paris, and concludes with the following observation which is typical of his common-sense approach: Dacier's "basic assumption that, because most Paris blind-tooled bindings [of the period] are well executed, these not very skilfully decorated gold-tooled bindings cannot be Paris work, is not only weak in logic but ignores an important fact. The skill required in a blind-tooled or blocked binding is mainly that of the engraver of the tool or block; in gold-tooling a much higher degree of skill is required of the finisher in the binder's shop, particularly in the judgment of the correct heat for his tools."

In discussing the work of Roman binders in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Mr. Nixon comes to the conclusion that some of the

bindings attributed to the "Canevari" binder by G. D. Hobson in 1926 must be assigned to at least two other Roman binderies using similar but undoubtedly distinct tools. These findings serve as a healthy reminder that, when one bindery becomes distinguished above its contemporaries, like the "Canevari" bindery or the Magnus bindery in Amsterdam (1669-1689), there is a temptation to associate with this one atelier the work of several contemporaries who have not been identified, as Mr. Nixon implies in his discussion of the Broxbourne Magnus specimen.

A similar problem occurs in the differentiation of Cambridge binderies in the seventeenth century, to which Mr. J. C. T. Oates and Mr. Nixon have both made substantial contributions. In discussing a group of volumes formerly attributed to a single bindery, Mr. Nixon says that there are too many variants *in the same size* of the tools used for it to be likely that the bindings come from a single source. "No binder is likely to equip himself with a number of almost identical new tools, although he may often acquire duplicates of old tools by taking over another binder's plant. When we find that the different sets of tools keep themselves rigorously to themselves, it is highly likely that we are dealing with more than one bindery."

Mr. Nixon has fresh information to offer on the early and late styles of Roger Payne, derived from his own study of the Payne bindings in the Cracherode bequest to the British Museum, and Mr. Robert Birley's discoveries among the Storer books in the Eton College Library.

The operative period of the craftsman whom G. D. Hobson christened the "Devotional Binder" is extended at both ends, his stylistic range is increased, and Mr. Nixon's new discoveries imply a London rather than an Oxford location for this admirable binder.

Elkanah Settle's bindings and the fawning effusions they contain are almost a trade staple. Yet Mr. Nixon is the first to observe "one small point . . . which tends to support the hypothesis that Settle bound the books himself. It is customary to describe the tools used on these bindings as 'large and coarsely cut.' They are mostly large, but they are in the main very well cut. What is at fault is the tooling, which is woefully inexpert and is just what we might expect from a not very critical amateur."

Since 1918, when E. Gordon Duff's paper, "The Great Mearne Myth," was published, it has been rankly heretical to ascribe any bindings of the reign of Charles II to Samuel Mearne. But the gradual accretion of evidence tending to re-establish the myth as fact, and Mr. Nixon's researches among the volumes of the Old Royal Library and elsewhere (here summarized), have encouraged a growing opposition to Duff. In

a stop-press addendum preceding the Appendix, Mr. Nixon offers new documentary evidence to prove that Mearne in his youth was the apprentice of a bookbinder, and "must surely have been taught to bind. . . . Duff's contention that Mearne probably never bound a book in his life, therefore, . . . becomes the great Duff myth."

In addition to throwing new light on familiar material, Mr. Nixon gives his readers (with Mr. Ehrman's connivance) a number of novelties and puzzles. Among the novelties: an Italian sixteenth-century binding with flaps protecting the edges of the leaves; English and Italian pierced vellum bindings, both *c.* 1600; a French binding of 1678, of vellum pasted over green sheep, displaying astronomical diagrams and emblems which are explained in the printed text within; and a delightfully frivolous French colored satin binding in a matching satin slipcase.

Among the puzzles: an Estienne Bible of 1528 in an elaborate gold-tooled binding with five painted medallions on each cover, which Mr. Nixon calls English, although he has not found any of the tools on other English bindings of the period; an Italian Bible of 1641 printed in Geneva and bound in a rather stilted imitation fanfare binding which is simply designated "Italian"; and a Boethius printed at Leiden in 1685, in a binding decorated with a variety of unusual stylized floral tools, for which localization is extremely difficult, though Mr. Nixon has reasons for believing it might be Scottish.

Although illustrious provenance is represented chiefly by Henry, Prince of Wales (an embroidered velvet specimen), Queen Elizabeth I, and Thomas Wotton, a number of volumes bear witness to Mr. Ehrman's interest in the unusual. One is a cameo binding of about 1525, probably Italian, with a portrait medallion of the book's first owner, Jacobus de Banisius, impressed in the center of the upper cover. An unusually handsome folio Bolognese binding of 1544 for Damian Pflug has his name and the title of the volume on the upper cover, the date and place of binding on the lower. The motto of Jean Brinon de Villaines, "Espoyr me tormente," identifies a pleasant Parisian architectonic binding as belonging to this friend and patron of Ronsard and the Pléïade. The reproduction and description of a binding with the device of the Venetian scholar-printer Gabriel Giolito gives Mr. Nixon an opportunity to list five other Broxbourne bindings with printer's devices blocked on the covers.

In the course of his survey, Mr. Nixon frequently offers useful hints or reminders that are worth noting out of context. He distinguishes between the printer's woodcut *wrappers* in which certain Augsburg in-

cunabula were issued, and the woodcut *bindings* (paper over pasteboards) produced contemporaneously in Ferrara and Venice. Venetian sunk-panel bindings of the sixteenth century are always attributed to anonymous oriental craftsmen working in Venice; but Mr. Nixon notes that the forwarding of these books is always carried out in the European style, showing that the forwarders were clearly European and suggesting that the finishers were also native craftsmen using blocks imported from the East.

Mr. Nixon suggests the possibility of fruitful study in the English gold-blocked bindings produced from 1519 (a presentation binding to Cardinal Wolsey) until well on in the seventeenth century; they are scarcely mentioned in the literature of bookbinding, perhaps because they are generally small and on such unrewarding texts as memorandum books and works of piety.

In his incidental discussion of a British Museum binding gilt-tooled with the Prince of Wales's feathers, long assumed to be the dedication copy to the future Charles I, Mr. Nixon makes a cautionary observation which all booksellers and collectors will ignore at their peril: "I think that this is only one of those instances where an author of a book dedicated to a member of the Royal Family has had all his presentation bindings bound in the same style with a happy disregard of the proprieties in making use of the royal arms."

Students using this invaluable book will have reason to be grateful not only to Mr. Ehrman and Mr. Nixon, but also to Mr. Brooke Crutchley and his colleagues at the University Press Cambridge for a dignified and virtually flawless volume, to Mr. Peter Parkinson for his brilliant photographs (always including the spine where necessary), and to L. Van Leer & Company of Amsterdam for their meticulous collotype reproductions.

F. B. Adams, Jr.

The Pierpont Morgan Library

The Bay Psalm Book. A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition of 1640 [and] *The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book, by Zoltán Haraszti.* Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, [1956]. Volume I, [ii], [298], [ii]; Volume II, xiii, 144 pp. 7¾ x 5¼ inches. $10.00.

In bringing out another modern reprint of the *Bay Psalm Book*, the first book written and printed in British North America of which copies have survived, the University of Chicago Press has called upon Zoltán Haraszti, Keeper of Rare Books at the Boston Public Library, for an in-

troduction. This introduction has grown into a bibliographical essay of considerable scope, and, to a reviewer, it is the most interesting part of the publication.

Not that there is no need for a new reprint of the *Bay Psalm Book*; the reprint brought out in the early years of this century under the supervision of Wilberforce Eames is nowhere near as readily available as this book ought to be in these days of awakened interest in the history of American literature.

Technically the Chicago reprint is excellently done. The fact that the plates were made at the Meriden Gravure Company should be, for knowing bookmen, sufficient evidence as to quality. The reproduction is in line offset, using the two copies in the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library. As a result the reprint appears much as the book must have looked when it first came from the Cambridge press in 1640. It could be argued that a facsimile in collotype would resemble more closely one of the extant copies as it appears today, but some decision as to what was to be reproduced had to be made, and so far as the accuracy and legibility of the facsimile is concerned, there can be no complaints.

Turning to Mr. Haraszti's prefatory essay, perhaps it would be best to present, in brief, his major theses, considering them one at a time.

First of all, he postulates that the Puritans wished their own translation of the psalms because they did not want to be confused, theologically, with the Pilgrims, who had adopted Ainsworth's translation. This seems plausible enough, for when the weight of the Puritan migration began to make itself felt, the majority at the Bay moved further and further away from the position of the Separatists at Plymouth and strove to establish their own exact theological identity. As for the residuary driving forces of Puritanism, which were all moving toward a self-contained religious body, breaking away from whatever was abhorrent in English precedents and setting up a wholly purified church, these, too, would have called for a translation of the psalms which Puritans felt free in conscience to accept as devoid of those excrescences they abhorred.

Secondly, Mr. Haraszti considers the translations the work of many hands, returning to Cotton Mather's statement that the work was parceled out among "the chief divines." He rejects the triumvirate theory that the end-product was the work of Richard Mather, Thomas Welde, and John Eliot, with six psalms translated by the English poet Francis Quarles and some assistance from Thomas Shepard. He feels that Peter Bulkeley, John Wilson, John Norton, and Nathaniel Ward also did some

translating, and he even assigns the translation of the 23rd Psalm to John Cotton. This he does on the basis of the expressed preferences of certain ministers for certain translations of the Bible, and on their known ability to write verse. It is possible that he has opened up new avenues for research into the authorship of individual psalms, and doubtless they should be explored. His specific cases, however, seem highly hypothetical, and they do not rule out the simple explanation that any principal translator, or small group of translators, would be likely to use all the English versions of the Bible available in working on a project of this sort.

He rejects, with exclamation points, the late George Parker Winship's dictum that "It has not been possible to find a verse anywhere that justifies a suspicion that it was not written by the person who did all the rest." Yet, in the case of Quarles' translations, and of Psalm 137 specifically, he finally has to confess that this must have been the work of some New England Puritan. One asks: If someone revised Quarles' translations, why not many of the others?

Perhaps this question is best answered by saying that although Mr. Haraszti has posed an intriguing problem of attributing various psalms to various translators, solving it with any satisfactory degree of accuracy is virtually impossible. And, so far as this reviewer is concerned, Winship's judgment still carries a great deal of authority. Mr. Haraszti seems, incidentally, to have been unduly harsh in his verdicts on many of Winship's positions in regard to the *Bay Psalm Book*; it is a pity that Winship is no longer among us to defend those positions.

Probably the outstanding discovery Mr. Haraszti has made is that the draft of the *Bay Psalm Book* preface, also in the Prince Collection, is not in the autograph of Richard Mather, as has long been supposed, but actually is in John Cotton's handwriting. This fact, conclusively proven, is coupled with a number of telling comparisons between the draft, the printed preface, and Cotton's *Singing of Psalmes a Gospel Ordinance* (London, 1647) to establish Cotton as author of the preface. Admittedly Richard Mather's only claim to that authorship rested on the attribution of the manuscript draft to him; but does ruling him out rule Cotton in?

In this respect it is interesting to note that two of the copies of *Singing of Psalmes* which Julius H. Tuttle located in his bibliography (Tuttle No. 57) formerly belonged to Richard Mather and Thomas Shepard. The copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society was a presentation copy from Cotton to Mather. The Harvard copy, once Thomas Shepard's, has some interesting notes in it, written, according to Tuttle, by William Brattle,

Shepard's grandson. They would seem to claim for Shepard a large part in the authorship of the tract. According to Mr. Haraszti's theory, the author of the *Bay Psalm Book* preface, both draft and printed, was the author of *Singing of Psalmes*. Where, then, does that leave Thomas Shepard? Was he the author of the *Bay Psalm Book* preface in its final, printed form? And was that why Cotton wanted to credit him with a large share in the authorship of *Singing of Psalmes*? Had they collaborated, exchanging ideas on this subject in the course of readying the manuscript of the *Bay Psalm Book* for the press?

Mr. Haraszti rejects this explanation of the notes in the Harvard copy of *Singing of Psalmes*. Instead, he explains the notes as an example of "filial piety and well-meaning friendship," and says that they were written by the younger Thomas Shepard; he does not explain why the writer of the notes is careful to mention the specific date on which he was told by Peter Bulkeley of the elder Shepard's "chief hand in the composing" of the work.

To buttress his case against Mather as author of the preface Mr. Haraszti has brought forth the discovery that a manuscript in the University of Virginia Library, long thought to have been in Mather's hand, is actually in Cotton's. But the work of which this is a transcript was actually written by Mather; Cotton simply made a copy of it for himself. The question naturally arises: How often did Cotton make transcripts of other men's writings for his own use? And, is the manuscript version of the *Bay Psalm Book* preface in the Prince Collection another example of Cotton's making a transcript?

These questions are not posed with any intention of knocking down Mr. Haraszti's theses. His work here is of the utmost importance, and deserves the fullest sort of examination. Mr. Haraszti has brought up some startling new facts; to sift them all is an enormous job, and it awaits the attention of future scholars.

Less valuable, and certainly less pleasant, is Mr. Haraszti's discussion of the transactions, more than a century ago, by which three copies of the *Bay Psalm Book* were traded out of the Prince Collection to Edward A. Crowninshield, George Livermore, and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff. His investigations into these transactions were made the basis of a highly sensational article ("A Very Proper Swindle"), by Robert Wallace in *Life*, November 22, 1954. Six years earlier this reviewer had printed, in January, 1948, in the *Yale University Library Gazette*, the letter which Shurtleff wrote to Loring Lothrop, one of the Old South's deacons, offering

to trade certain books for a copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* and asking that his request be given "the proper direction," that is, that the matter be presented to the deacons. Mr. Wallace did not see fit to print this part of Shurtleff's letter, but Mr. Haraszti, being an honest scholar, has done so.

It is doubtful, however, if his discussion has done much more to throw any new light on these transactions, and one wonders if there is anything to be gained by poking in the ashes which have been cold so long. The Crowninshield copy is now at Yale; the Livermore copy, having been used to perfect the Lenox copy at the New York Public Library, is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Adrian Van Sinderen; and Shurtleff's copy has been at the John Carter Brown Library since before the time that the Library became a public institution. As Mr. Haraszti himself says, for any one library to hold five copies of such a precious book today would be "a monstrosity."

The Enigma of the Bay Psalm Book must be regarded, in the final analysis, as most important for the questions it raises. Its title implies that it answers few if any of these questions definitively, but it does emphasize the fact that the time has come for a full-scale study of this cornerstone of American literature. Mr. Haraszti has shown where many of the trails run; future scholars following them will owe him a considerable debt.

BRADFORD F. SWAN

Providence, R. I.

KILGOUR, RAYMOND L. *Estes and Lauriat, A History, 1872-1898.* [Ornament] *With a Brief Account of Dana Estes and Company, 1898-1914.* Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, [1957]. 238 pp. Plates. 9⅛ x 6 inches. $6.00.

This work on Estes and Lauriat is not Dr. Kilgour's first contribution to the history of American book publishing. In 1952 appeared his *Messrs. Roberts Brothers*, a detailed recording of the activities of a firm which brought out the works not only of Americans like Louisa Alcott and Emily Dickinson, but of such English writers as D. G. Rossetti, William Morris, and George Meredith. The catalogues of Estes and Lauriat contained the names of authors far less distinguished than those found in the lists of Roberts Brothers, whose "unfaltering good taste" made them adhere to standards virtually unknown to the other firm. True, some books which Estes and Lauriat published were not intended to yield huge prof-

its, but a large percentage of their publications was skilfully selected to attract as diversified an audience as possible.

The firm began its publishing business in 1872 by issuing books on science which included the fields of physics, birds, and trees. But since many people of the 70's still associated science with evolution, and evolution with agnosticism, the firm sought cleverly to offset any feelings prejudicial to its interests by taking refuge in the publication of religious books. Thoroughly orthodox items such as Warren's *Jerusalem Ancient and Modern* and Punshon's *Lectures and Sermons* easily gave a reputation of respectability to the firm. But, asserts Kilgour, "both science and religion sank into the background when there was an opportunity to make large profits from standard authors in sets, children's books, and illustrated works on travel."

Estes and Lauriat were quick to see the advantage of entering the field of subscription books, which, since the Civil War, had been gaining in popular favor. Indeed, Mark Twain's early books were sold on a subscription basis. Guizot's *Popular History of France,* retailed by subscription in six volumes, finally became, in Estes' judgment, "the foundation stone of E & L's fortunes." Naturally the firm sought further to enlarge its influence by turning to fiction and verse, but it was never able to attract a first-rate American novelist or poet. The nearest approach to success in the area of fiction came with the publication of Daudet's and Gaboriau's works in translation, which, to a limited degree, helped to bring French fiction to American readers. But if contemporary fiction, in terms of distinguished authors, was meagerly represented, the novels of American and English writers of earlier periods were from time to time added to the Estes and Lauriat catalogues. Thus appeared in sets, with many illustrations, the works of Defoe (8 vols.), Smollett (6 vols.), Scott (48 vols.), Cooper (16 vols.), Poe (6 vols.), and Melville (4 vols.), to note only a few. These illustrated editions constituted a conspicuous segment of the firm's best sellers.

To juveniles, however, Estes and Lauriat repeatedly turned as a means of keeping their lists supplied with works of unerring popularity. These books for boys and girls were, in the main, by American authors; and, in Kilgour's judgment, "whether they dealt with American scenes or not, they were clearly American in flavor." Hezekiah Butterworth's *Zigzag Journeys in Europe* inaugurated a series of juveniles which proved one of the best liked sequences for children published in nineteenth-century America. True, the *Nation* called one of the volumes "ruinous to the lit-

erary taste of the young"; but from most reviewers the series received only glowing encomiums. Written by Elizabeth Champney for a somewhat more restricted audience, the "Three Vassar Girls Series" brought hours of delight to young ladies of the eighties and early nineties. But the choicest of best sellers on the firm's list of American juveniles was the sentimental novelette by Mrs. Laura Richards, *Captain January*. Even the usually captious critic for the *Nation* could this time find little amiss in the story.

One other book for children, the British periodical *Chatterbox*, which Estes and Lauriat issued for many years as an annual, brought the American firm a popularity that bordered on notoriety. In fact, the methods which the company used to defend its rights of publication against those of other firms who sought to reprint the annual, are indicative of the "survival" technique of Estes and Lauriat. As early as October, 1879, the company had published a widely circulated notice with the caption, "The Survival of the Fittest." "While we do not claim that our juvenile books are the only good ones on the market," asserted the publishers, "we ask all retailers to compare them with any others offered them and judge for themselves, letting each stand on its own merits." The notice closed with the slogan, "Let the Fittest Survive!" Though this notice and similar ones to follow referred in part to the "Zigzag" sequence, it applied in a far more literal sense to *Chatterbox*. When in 1877 the English publishers refused Estes and Lauriat's order for copies of the annual, the American firm reprinted without the permission of the British company. This move brought the English publishers quickly to terms; and Estes and Lauriat in 1879 were granted permission to bring out an American edition, using the English plates. But soon fresh troubles encumbered their plans. Other publishers sought either to reprint from the Estes and Lauriat edition or to issue imitations of an annual which had now attained an amazing popularity. Soon a struggle for survival began scarcely paralleled in the annals of nineteenth-century publishing. Finally, in 1887, Dr. Kilgour declares, "E & L issued a triumphant announcement of their victory, but it had been a costly fight: ten suits against infringers of copyright had cost E & L nearly thirty thousand dollars and the defendants had had to spend about the same amount." In this series of legal battles Estes and Lauriat did not always appear in the best moral light. One publisher involved in a suit with the firm printed in the *Publishers' Weekly*, by way of self-defense, a curious bit of courtroom testimony:

> That the public may know what kind of men Estes and Lauriat are, I give the following extract from the testimony of Mr. Estes in their suit against me:

Question: Was not the reprint of the *Chatterbox* of 1878 made by you in a form calculated to deceive the public?
Answer: Upon reflection, I should say it undoubtedly was.
Question: And was so intended?
Answer: Yes.

Yet despite the staggering costs of litigation, the firm seems to have prospered, for it was reorganized along new lines in 1886 with younger blood to help enlarge and strengthen its activities. Nor was this litigation without a salutary effect upon the publishing business, as well as authors, in England and America. For many years the importance of an international copyright had been widely discussed on both sides of the Atlantic. Mr. Estes himself, as a result of his publishing experiences, had come strongly to advocate such a bill, and in 1891 the bill was passed.

Few American publishing firms of the nineteenth century apparently exerted any effort to preserve their records. A notable exception was Ticknor and Fields, whose *Cost Books* ultimately found their way into the Houghton Library and have been edited in part for the Bibliographical Society of America by Doctors Tryon and Charvat. But in the recently published history of John Wiley and Sons,[1] the officers of the company remark in the preface: "For a long time we had known that material on our past was inadequate; but not until we had given it a careful examination did we realize how sparse indeed our records were." In compiling this charming commemorative volume, the firm necessarily turned to scholars and other specialists whose hours of patient research are evident throughout the book. Thus Dr. Kilgour, in writing the histories of Roberts Brothers and Estes and Lauriat, turned to intensive research outside the companies' archives. Certain of the cost books of Roberts Brothers have survived, but "the records and correspondence of the firm were almost completely destroyed." In his endeavor to locate the publishing records of Estes and Lauriat, Dr. Kilgour met with an icy indifference on the part of those who should have had in their possession these documents, and he was forced to conclude that no such records, at least of any significance, had been preserved.

Dr. Kilgour's book is carefully documented; his footnotes reveal a richness of factual matter bearing on his subject. Though he had few manuscript data upon which to draw, the *Publishers' Weekly* yielded many valuable facts pertinent to the history of the firm. For book reviews, he turned to the *Atlantic*, *Literary World*, *Nation*, and *Dial*. Finally, the read-

[1] *First One Hundred and Fifty Years. A History of John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated. 1807-1957* (New York, 1957).

er is impressed with Dr. Kilgour's thorough exploration of the innumerable publications of Estes and Lauriat.

Yet at moments the book fails to hold the attention of the reader. This fault springs in part from Dr. Kilgour's almost insoluble problem of deriving unity from so varied a multiplicity of sources. Determined to move into virtually every area of publishing to attain popularity, the firm spread its output thin, indulging the mediocre author along with the more talented, and often without clearly defined perspective. Only an historian of rare ability could have moved with sustained interest through this heterogeneous mass of publications. But another fault likewise detracts from the literary effectiveness and interpretative value of the book—the author's failure at times to bring together materials that are in nature logically related. This reviewer, for example, has endeavored to demonstrate how Estes and Lauriat, in promoting the sales of *Chatterbox*, waged a battle for survival that effectively implemented their slogan: "Let the Fittest Survive!" Yet Dr. Kilgour has weakened this picture of vigorous and often heartless competition by assigning part of the data to his chapter on Estes and Lauriat's juveniles and part to the chapter on the business history of the firm. The latter chapter, in content the most vital and original section of the book, could in this and in other respects have been materially strengthened.

The history as a whole, however, possesses outstanding value as a work of reference, into which the author has poured countless details that exemplify the business methods employed by more than one American publisher during the Gilded Age.

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